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L I V E S  
OF THE MOST EMINENT  
FATHERS OF THE CHURCH  
THAT FLOURISHED IN THE  
FIRST FOUR CENTURIES;

WITH  
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PAGANISM UNDER  
THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

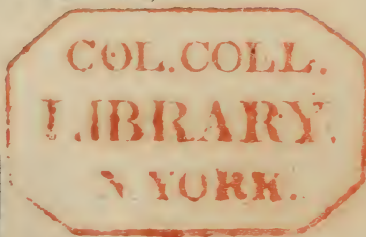
BY  
WILLIAM CAVE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED,

BY  
HENRY CARY, M.A.

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Life of Gregory of Nazianzum, Bishop of Constantinople.	
SECTION I.—His Acts from his Birth till his coming from Athens - - -	1
SECTION II.—His Acts from his Return to Athens till his being made Bishop of Sasima - - - - -	8
SECTION III.—His Acts from his being made Bishop till his going to Constantinople - - - - -	19
SECTION IV.—His Acts from his coming to Constantinople till the meeting of the Great Council there - - - - -	30
SECTION V.—The Acts and Proceedings of the Second General Council - -	46
SECTION VI.—Particular Transactions of the Council relating to Nazianzen. His Resignation and Departure - - - - -	66
SECTION VII.—His Acts from his Resignation to his Death - - - -	74
— The Life of St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem - - - - -	91
The Life of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.	
SECTION I.—His Acts from his Birth till the Synod at Aquileia - - -	118
SECTION II.—His Acts from the Meeting of the Synod at Aquileia till the Death of Gratian - - - - -	129
SECTION III.—His Acts from the Death of Gratian till the end of the Contest between him and Symmachus - - - - -	137
SECTION IV.—His Acts from his Contest with Symmachus till his Second Embassy - - - - -	162
SECTION V.—His Acts from his Second Embassy till the Death of Valentinian -	176
SECTION VI.—His Acts from the Death of Valentinian till his own Death -	192
— The Life of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus - - - - -	205
— The Life of St. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople.	
SECTION I.—His Acts from his Birth till his being made Bishop of Constantinople - - - - -	237
SECTION II.—His Acts from his being made Bishop till the Trial of Antoninus, Bishop of Ephesus - - - - -	257
SECTION III.—His Acts from the Trial of Antoninus till the Combination made against him by Antiochus and others - - - - -	270
SECTION IV.—His Acts from the Combination of Antiochus, Severian, &c. till his being deposed by Theophilus - - - - -	278

	PAGE
SECTION V.—His Acts from his Departure till the Order for his Second Banishment - - - - -	293
SECTION VI.—His Acts from the Signing of the Warrant till his being carried into Banishment - - - - -	306
SECTION VII.—His Acts from his going into Banishment till the Death of Arsacius - - - - -	321
SECTION VIII.—His Acts from the Death of Arsacius till his own Death - -	332
SECTION IX.—The Character of his Person, Temper, and Endowments - -	343
SECTION X.—Passages relating to Chrysostom that happened after his Death -	352
 The Life of Arnobius - - - - -	 369
The Life of Lactantius - - - - -	373
The Life of Paul, Bishop of Constantinople - - - - -	385
The Life of Julius, Bishop of Rome - - - - -	394
The Life of Eusebius, Bishop of Emisa - - - - -	400
The Life of Ephraim the Syrian, Deacon of Edessa - - - - -	404
The Life of Damasus, Bishop of Rome - - - - -	413
The Life of Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium - - - - -	423
The Life of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa - - - - -	428

# THE LIFE OF ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUM, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

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## SECTION I.

HIS ACTS FROM HIS BIRTH TILL HIS COMING FROM ATHENS.

The dearness between him and Basil. The place and time of his birth. His father Gregory brought up in an odd sect of religion, called that of the Hypsistarians. What that sect was. His bigotry in that way; converted, by what methods. His baptism; his advancement to the see of Nazianzum. The ill condition of that place at his coming to it. His diligence in its reformation. The exquisite piety of his mother Nonna. The pregnancy of his parts, and agreeableness of his temper to the noblest studies. His foreign education, in what places. His voyage to Athens, and the infinite danger of that passage. His effectual intercession with heaven. His dangers communicated to his parents in a dream. The appearance of his mother to one of his acquaintance in the ship. His happy arrival at Athens. His joint studies with Basil, and their generous emulation. His divine dream concerning wisdom and chastity. His acquaintance with Julian, afterwards emperor, and the censure he then passed upon him.

ST. GREGORY of Nazianzum ought by no means to be parted from St. Basil, the great companion of his life; a pair of the dearest and most intimate friends that we meet with in the whole history of the church; knit and bound up in so firm a friendship, that, as himself tells us,<sup>a</sup> they had all things common:

..... καὶ Ψυχὴ μία  
Δνοῖν δέονσα σωμάτων διδασκασιν

and that it was but one and the same soul that united and acted both their bodies. He was born at Arianzum,<sup>b</sup> (where his father had a country house,) an obscure village belonging to Nazianzum, a town of the second Cappadocia, situate in that part of the country called Tiberina, a poor, barren, unhealthful, and un-

<sup>a</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 3. Nicet. argum. in Naz. Orat. xv. Vid. Naz. Orat. xxy. p. 435. Epist. vi. p. 770.



pleasant place, and which perhaps had silently passed untaken notice of in story, had not the interest it had in this great man given reputation to it. He came into the world just about the time of the great Nicene council, as if the Divine Providence had designed him on purpose for an able champion to defend that faith, that then began to be so vigorously opposed by the Arian faction, and which the fathers of that synod took so much pains to assert and establish. His parents were persons of the better rank,<sup>c</sup> and no less eminent for their virtues. His father (whose name also was Gregory) was a good man, but had been unhappily educated in an odd sect of religion,<sup>d</sup> a kind of Samaritan mixture, made up of Judaism and Paganism, or rather some select rites of each: with the Gentiles, they did honour to fire and burning lights, but rejected idols and sacrifices; with the Jews, they observed the sabbath, and a strict abstinence from some kinds of meats, but disowned circumcision; pretending to worship no other deity but the almighty, supreme, and most high God; whence they took to themselves the name of Hypsistarians; a sect not appearing among the tribes of ancient heretics, though something like to it may be found among the Euphemitæ, mentioned by Epiphanius.<sup>e</sup> It had been, it seems, the religion of his ancestors, and that wherein himself had been a bigot in his younger years, the deserting whereof lost him the kindness of his friends, estranged his own mother from him,<sup>f</sup> and cut him off of his estate: all which he entertained with greater cheerfulness than others are wont to do the greatest honours, knowing that though he had lost a mother upon earth, he had gained a Father in heaven; and though despoiled of his goods, he had secured "in heaven a better and an enduring substance." The chief instrument of his conversion was his wife, who continually plied him with prayers and importunate persuasions, which at length made impression. Indeed he was admirably prepared for such a change, by the piety of his temper and the purity of his life. He was in a manner a Christian even before his coming over to Christianity: such his strict care and government of himself, his humility and modesty, his temperance and

<sup>c</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Naz. Orat. xix. p. 289. Vid. Orat. x. p. 161. xi. p. 178. Carm. de vita sua, vol. ii. p. 2. Carm. i. de rebus suis, vol. ii. p. 33. Greg. Presb. loc. citat.

<sup>e</sup> Hæres. lxxx. s. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Naz. Orat. xix. p. 289.



chastity, justice and integrity, uncorruptness and impartiality, in all the great offices of the commonwealth which he had undergone. Thus disposed, he stood fairer for a compliance with that religion, wherein he was told these graces would shine with a better lustre, and wherein they would receive their utmost accomplishment and perfection. And an accident happened, which, though not very considerable in itself, did yet turn the scale. He dreamed one night,<sup>s</sup> what he had never done before, that he sung that passage in David's Psalms, "I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord."<sup>h</sup> This way of singing seemed a little strange to him, but withal inspired him with a secret pleasure and delight. The good woman was not to be taught how to improve the passage, which she explained and urged with all its advantages; she magnified the mighty kindness and condescension of heaven, pressing him not to be wanting to his own salvation, nor any longer to resist the call of God, but immediately to break through whatever stood in the way to hinder him. He now yielded up himself to her importunity, and that nothing might be wanting, an opportunity presented itself to crown and complete it.

II. It happened about this time, that Leontius bishop of Cæsarea, with some other prelates of his province, set out in his journey to the council of Nice, and took Nazianzum in their way. To him he addressed himself, and acquainted him with his earnest desire to be made a Christian; in order whereunto he was forthwith put under the rites preparatory to his initiation, in the management whereof the catechist committed a mistake; for instead of making him stand up during his attendance upon the catechetic lecture, (as was customary for the catechumens who were candidates for baptism,) he kneeled down all the while, a posture proper only to those who were to be consecrated to the priesthood. They that were present perceived the mistake, but withal looked upon it as a good omen of his future advancement to the episcopal office. Soon after, he was baptized by the bishop of Nazianzum; when, at his coming out of the *baptisterium*, an extraordinary light and splendour was seen to shine round about him, beholden by several, who at present took no notice of it to one another, each one thinking the vision had been communicated to him alone; but especially to the

<sup>s</sup> Naz. Orat. xix. p. 293.

<sup>h</sup> Ps. cxxii. 1.

bishop it appeared with so surprising a brightness, that he publicly cried out, and told the people, that he had anointed this person to be his successor in that place by the immediate designation of the Holy Ghost : which accordingly came to pass ; for, upon the bishop's death, after some considerable vacancy, he was promoted to that see. He found the place in a bad condition, and every thing strangely out of order. It had not been long erected into an episcopal station, his predecessor being the first bishop ; a man indeed of an incomparable life, but of great plainness and simplicity, destitute of those advantages which the bishops of those times were furnished with, and which the evident necessities of the church did require : and yet even he too soon snatched away, and the see a long time vacant after his death, so that it was miserably overrun with vice and error when our new prelate entered upon it ; who set himself to make a speedy reformation, and by his prudence and diligence formed the people to better manners, and at once brought them under the laws both of civility and religion. Such, and so excellent a person, was this great man's father ; nor was his mother Nonna less eminent for her sex : a woman descended of a pious family, whose virtues she improved to that height, that (if we may believe the account which her son every where gives of her) she became for piety the wonder of her age. Children she had then none, at least but one daughter, (if Gorgonia was her eldest,) and was eagerly desirous of a son,<sup>i</sup> in which behalf she oft solicited heaven, promising, as Hannah did in the like case, if God gave her one, she would entirely devote him to him. Her prayers, like the other's, prevailed above, and God, to gratify her present importunity, was pleased in a vision by night to communicate to her both the shape of the child she should bear, and the name by which he was to be called. And no sooner was she delivered, but, careful to perform her vow, she immediately consecrated and gave him up to God.

III. A child he proved of ripe pregnant parts,<sup>k</sup> by which, and the advantages of domestic institution, under the discipline and government of his parents, he soon outstripped his equals in learning, wherein he made such quick advances, that his tender years were no hinderance to those improvements which in others

<sup>i</sup> Naz. Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 2. Orat. xix. p. 292. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Greg. Presb. ibid. Naz. de vit. sua, ut supra.

are the attainments of the maturest age. He was above the little sports and pleasures of youth, which he generously slighted as vain and useless, and obstructive to the progress of nobler studies, nature having formed him to a more grave and serious temper; so that as his reason grew up with his years, he delighted in reading such books as were at that time written in defence of the catholic cause, and in frequently conversing with wise and good men. The first step of his foreign education was to Cæsarea, where he put himself under the best masters, and where, I doubt not, he first became acquainted with Basil. Having rifled the learning of that university, he went into Palestine, to Cæsarea Philippi, where some of the most celebrated masters of that age resided, and where the great Eusebius then sat bishop; where he studied under Thespesius the famous orator,<sup>1</sup> and had among other fellow-pupils Euzoius, afterwards by the Arian faction made bishop of that place. Here he particularly applied himself to the study of rhetoric, minding the elegance, not the vanity and affectation of that profession. Hence he removed to Alexandria, whose schools were famous next those at Athens. Having furnished himself with the advantages of that society of learning, the last stage he designed was Athens; where he intended to lay the top stone. In order hereunto, he went aboard a ship belonging to Ægina,<sup>m</sup> an island not far from Athens, (the mariners whereof were his familiar acquaintance,) but in a bad season, it being then about the middle of November, when the seas are most rough and stormy, and navigation, if ever, dangerous. And he found it so: for being arrived near Cyprus, a violent tempest suddenly arose, which shook and tossed the ship at random, a thick darkness wrapped them up, so that neither land, nor sea, nor sky could be descried, and this attended with dreadful thunder and lightning, as frightful and amazing as the darkness that covered them. And to add yet a deeper accent, hunger and famine conspired with the common calamity, their provisions of water and victuals being all lost or spoiled, though herein seasonably relieved by some Phœnician traders, who, though in the same danger, ventured near the ship, and supplied that want. The storm in the mean time increased into a greater rage and fierceness, and continued several days;

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. de Script. in Euzoio, c. 113.

<sup>m</sup> Præter loca supr. vid. Orat. xix. p. 306. et Carm. i. de reb. suis, vol. ii. p. 36, 37.



the ship ran adrift, all the skill of the master or the strength of the seamen being vain and useless. The case, in short, seemed desperate, and no probability to escape; every man gave up himself for lost, and bitterly bewailed his unhappy fate, and the immediate hazard of his life; while our Athenian passenger was taken up with considerations that more nearly concerned him. The apprehensions of death and another world, had summoned him to a review of his past life, and nothing so much troubled him, as the thoughts of his being unbaptized, and thereby unentitled to the privileges of the Christian state: a reflection that made him burst out into the most passionate sorrows; he tore his clothes, threw himself upon the floor, mourned and cried out with so loud exclamations, that the very seamen, laying aside the sense of their common danger, came and sat by him, and wept with him for company. But recollecting himself, he addressed his prayers to heaven, and laid before God those miraculous deliverances and preservations he had afforded his people in the most imminent dangers; he pleaded the particular care which the Divine Goodness and Providence had heretofore taken of him; that he was his, by a most solemn dedication; and that now, a second time, he did devote and consecrate himself to him, which he would assuredly make good, were he pleased at this time to deliver him. His prayers were no sooner ended, but granted: the tempest ceased, and the ship went on securely in its right course, with this farther happy effect of so miraculous a preservation, that all the passengers forthwith declared themselves resolved to become Christians. And what is yet further memorable, this imminent danger at sea was at the same time communicated to his parents in a dream, who presently betook themselves to prayers and tears for his safety; and himself, a little after, as soon as the abating of the storm suffered him to indulge his rest, dreamed that he led in triumph a certain fury, a malignant demon, that had been busy to contrive and promote his ruin. Nay, one of his intimate acquaintance, a young man then with him in the ship, did at midnight, when they were at the greatest crisis of their danger, behold his mother Nonna coming along upon the sea, and laying hold of the ship, drawing it safe to land, which was no sooner declared, but the weather cleared up, and the tempest vanished. The storm thus over, they held on their course, and

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passing by Rhodes, came not long after to Ægina, (where the ship-master lived,) and so to Athens, where he was joyfully entertained; and it was soon known what he was, his great abilities rendering him admired, not only by the scholars, but the chief professors of that place.

IV. He had not been long at Athens,<sup>n</sup> when Basil, who had lately studied at Constantinople, came thither. And now the acquaintance that was begun before, grew up here into an indissolvable friendship. They dwelt together under the same roof, did eat at the same table, joined in the same studies, wherein they were not soured by envy, but whetted on by a generous emulation; nor was the contention so much which should outvie and outgo the other, as which should be forwardest in yielding to the other the glory of their eminent attainments. They equally drew in the same paths of virtue, and nothing so firmly united their affections, as a mighty zeal and sincere reverence for religion. They were generally taken notice of for their prudent and grave demeanour, their temperance and abstemiousness, their modesty and chastity, their integrity and contempt of the world, scorning those little arts by which others unworthily enriched and advanced themselves; the firmness and constancy of their minds, which they maintained under the heaviest calamities, and eminently kept up in that terrible earthquake that overrun Greece, when the courage of so many others sunk and failed. I forbear particular instances of the friendship and studies of these two great men during their residence at Athens, having remarked enough to that purpose in St. Basil's Life. While he thus pursued his philosophic studies, he had a not unacceptable dream, that seemed to carry something more than human in it. He dreamed, that sitting at his book,<sup>o</sup> he espied two lovely and beautiful ladies standing by him in white garments, one on his right hand, the other on his left. The man (who had taken up unalterable resolutions for a chaste single life) beheld them with a rigid frown, asking who they were, and what their business. They, familiarly embracing him, answered, Do not be troubled, young man, we are very

<sup>n</sup> Naz. Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 4. Orat. xx. p. 330. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Rufin. Prolog. in oper. Naz. inter Naz. oper. vol. i. p. 726. ex ipsius Naz. Carm. iv. de Anim. suæ calam. vol. ii. p. 71, 72.

well known to you ; the one of us is called Wisdom, the other Chastity, and we are sent by God to dwell with you, who have already prepared in your soul so neat and pleasant an habitation for us, and with that vanished. And indeed armed with a pious and generous resolution, he maintained the innocency and integrity of his mind, amidst all the temptations, and those charms of company and conversation, which that place above most others did afford. Amongst others with whom he fell into acquaintance there, was Julian,<sup>p</sup> afterwards emperor, who was come thither under pretence of study, but chiefly to consult the impostors and magicians, (to whom he was passionately addicted,) concerning his future fortunes. His behaviour there was very odd and indecorous, so that from the usual distortings of his mouth, rolling and wandering of his eyes, the fierceness of his looks, the tossings of his head, and unequal motions of his shoulders, his uneven gait, and excessive laughter, his broken speech, rash and incoherent questions, and his bold and impious manner of disputing, Nazianzen was wont to foretell what course he would take, and to say to his friends, "See what a mischief the Roman empire nourishes in its bowels;" wishing withal, that herein he might prove a false prophet. Though, alas, the course of his after-life too truly verified that prediction.

## SECTION II.

### HIS ACTS FROM HIS RETURN FROM ATHENS TILL HIS BEING MADE BISHOP OF SASIMA.

His public profession of rhetoric, and great fame at the time of his leaving Athens. His meeting with his brother Cæsarius. The excellent learning of that young man, and his refusal of preferments and dignities offered him to profess physic at Constantinople. Nazianzen's consultation about his future course of life. Ordained presbyter by his father. His rescuing his father from the subtleties of the Arian impostures, and reconciling him to the monks. His oration upon that occasion. Julian's edict to prohibit Christians teaching of Gentile learning. This policy countermined by the excellent poems of Nazianzen and Apollinaris. His father's courage and resolution against Julian's officers. Nazianzen's two invectives against Julian published after his death. His retirement into the wilderness, and strict course of life there. His return home to assist the infirmities of his father. His apologetic *de fuga sua*. The death of Cæsarius. A brief account of his learning, eminency, and

<sup>p</sup> Naz. Orat. iv. p. 121, 122. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 12.



preferments at court. His stout resisting Julian's solicitations. His return to court after the death of Julian. His miraculous escape in the terrible earthquake in Bithynia. His brother's letter to him upon that occasion. His funeral sermon preached by Nazianzen. His great charity, and Nazianzen's trouble in recovering his estate. Whether the Questions and Answers under his name be his.

BASIL had now quitted the university, and Nazianzen,<sup>a</sup> by the unwearied importunity of the students, was prevailed with to stay behind, and publicly to profess the art of rhetoric; which he did for a little while, managing the chair with great honour both to himself and the university. But the love of his own country, the age and infirmities of his parents, and the considerable part he had spent of his own life, (being at this time thirty years of age,) made him earnestly desirous to return. So taking leave privately of his friends, he left Athens, and took his journey by land to Constantinople,<sup>b</sup> where he met with his brother Cæsarius, just then arrived from Alexandria; where he had so accomplished himself in all the polite learning of that age, and especially in physic, (to the study whereof he had particularly applied himself,) that he had not been long in the imperial city, when his fame had so far recommended him to the notice and good opinion of all, that public honours were decreed him, matches propounded from noble families, the dignity of a senator offered him, and a committee ordered to wait upon the emperor, to entreat him, that (though the city wanted at that time no learned men in any faculty) yet this might be added to all its other glory, that Cæsarius might become its physician and inhabitant. These were indeed great temptations to a young gentleman: but the authority and influence of his brother Nazianzen weighed down all other considerations, at whose persuasions he modestly declined the honourable proposals and importunities of the city, which was by no means willing to part with him, and accompanied him into his own country, welcome to all, but especially to their parents, being made much dearer to them by so long an absence from them. The first thing considerable Nazianzen did after his return, was to make good what he had so solemnly vowed, to consecrate himself to God by baptism. This done, his next consult was, in what course of life he should fix himself. He found himself strongly inclined to a solitary and monastic life, the

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 8. Naz. Carm. de vita sua, vol. ii. p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Naz. Orat. x. p. 164.

pleasures of retirement and contemplation being infinitely grateful to him. On the other hand, he was inflamed with a desire fully to inform himself in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and the divine mysteries of the Christian faith, wherein he could not hope for those advantages from a solitary life, which he might expect from society and conversation. He resolved therefore upon a middle course, neither wholly to desert the world, nor yet to engage in the business and the bustle of it; he could reap the benefits of contemplation at home, as well as the devoutest ascetic in the wilderness, and yet at the same time (what he accounted no small part of piety) be helpful and assisting to his aged parents. He looked upon it as a great part of that divine philosophy he had attained to, to be able to promote the ends of virtue, without the help of a cell or a monastery, desiring rather to be, than to seem religious, it not being the place but the life makes the monk. And his father, to render him more useful both to himself and to the church, surprised him into ecclesiastic orders against his will. For though he had a singular reverence for the ministerial and episcopal order, yet was he resolved not to engage in it. Wherein yet his father overruled him, and ordained him presbyter, which he took the more patiently, considering the necessities of the church at that time, and how ready heretics were to infest the orthodox, as he tells Basil in a letter upon this occasion.<sup>c</sup> And indeed he had sad experience of their subtle insinuations in his own father. For the Arian party, managed by Acacius in the convention at Constantinople, held presently after that of Seleucia, anno 359, had, with as much artifice as they could, refined their doctrine; they pretended, out of a mighty reverence to the scriptures, they could not admit any terms into the exposition of the faith which were not found there, and that therefore the word “consubstantial” being laid aside, they thought good to express the article thus: that “the Son was in all things like the Father, according to the scriptures.” This smooth pretence imposed upon several of the Eastern bishops, and among the rest upon Gregory of Nazianzum,<sup>d</sup> who received the confession, and admitted the persons to communion. Hereupon the monks of Cappadocia (of

<sup>c</sup> Epist. xi. p. 776.

<sup>d</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 10. Naz. Orat. xix. p. 297. Vid. argum. in Orat. xii. vol. ii. p. 632.



all others the most zealous assertors of the catholic doctrine) flew off, denying him communion; a great part also of the people, moved by their example, falling off from him. The breach was wide, and every day likely to become wider, had not Nazianzen bestirred himself to make it up. He first convinced his father of the error which his incautiousness and simplicity had run him into, which he found him as ready to recant, and to give public satisfaction to the people; then he dealt with the other party, whom he soon prevailed with to be reconciled. And that he might bind all with a faster cement, he made upon this occasion his first oration concerning peace;<sup>e</sup> wherein having elegantly described the monastic state, and given thanks to God for the late reunion, he persuades to a firm and lasting agreement, the advantages whereof he discourses at large, and the intolerable mischiefs and disorders that division brings upon the world.

II. Julian was now got into the throne, and was become a declared enemy to Christians; and among the several methods whereby he attempted to suppress and stifle Christianity, this was one. He published a law,<sup>f</sup> prohibiting Christians not only to teach school, but (as the ancients tell us) to be taught the books and learning of the Gentiles. It vexed him to see how shamefully he and his party went down the wind, and especially that Basil and Nazianzen had so filled the world with the renown of their eloquence and learning; and he had little hopes his beloved paganism would gain ground, while its adversaries were so able to beat them at their own weapons, which therefore he was resolved to wrest out of their hands. But herein the wise was caught in his own craftiness, God raising up those, who, by their admirable works, abundantly supplied the want of any Gentile learning: among which of chief note were the two Apollinares in Syria; the father, an excellent poet and grammarian, in imitation of Homer wrote the whole story, and entire antiquities of the Jewish nation till the reign of Saul, in heroic verse, which he divided into twenty-four books, and denominated each according to the letters of the Greek alphabet. The rest of the sacred story he represented in other kinds of verse; either

<sup>e</sup> Orat. xii. p. 190.

<sup>f</sup> Naz. Orat. iii. p. 51. 96. Socrat. l. iii. c. 16. Sozom. l. v. c. 18. Niceph. l. x. c. 25.

comic like Menander, or tragic like Euripides, or lyric in the way of Pindar, indeed, comprehended the whole system of the liberal sciences in various sorts of poetry, still taking his argument out of the holy scriptures. While his son, the younger Apollinaris, (besides his book *ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας*, which he dedicated to the emperor, wherein he dexterously defended the cause of Christianity, and refuted the falsehood and follies of the pagan religion,) reduced the history of the gospels and St. Paul's epistles into the form of dialogues, after the manner and in the style of Plato, and that with so much art and accuracy, that they were capable of vieing with the most elaborate and celebrated compositions of the ancients. Upon the same occasion we are told, that Nazianzen composed a good part of his poems, comprehending all sorts of divine, grave, and serious subjects in all kinds of poetry.<sup>g</sup> By which means, the Christian youth of those times were completely furnished, and found no want of those heathen authors that were taken from them. Nor did Julian proceed against the Christians merely by stratagems and arts of subtlety, but by acts of force and cruelty. He lay at this time at Cæsarea, where he made them feel the effects of his severity, and thence he sent parties of soldiers up and down the country to rout the bishops, and take possession of their churches. One party of them came to Nazianzum,<sup>h</sup> where the commander peremptorily required the church (which the elder Gregory had not long since built) to be delivered to him. But the good old man stoutly opposed him, daily assembling the people there to public prayers; who were so affected with the common case, that the officer for his own safety was forced to surcease his demand, and quietly to retire. Not long after this, Julian was slain, and "in that very day his thoughts perished:" after whose death Nazianzen published two invective orations against him, in which he strains all the sinews of his wit and eloquence to the highest peg, to describe the pernicious projects, desperate acts, and miserable death of that unfortunate prince. Wherein, though the subjects he treats of deserved a great share of that satirical and sarcastic rhetoric he bestows upon it, yet must it be confessed, that some things must be placed to the accounts of heat and animosity, and the liberty which orators

<sup>g</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 12. 33. Zonar. Annal. l. xiii. c. 12.

<sup>h</sup> Naz. Orat. xix. p. 307.

are wont to take, especially in declamations against an inveterate enemy, and one too that had particularly designed his head, had he returned safe from the Persian expedition. But it is time now to step back a little, to resume the story which we have left behind.

III. Though Nazianzen, to comply with the importunity of his father and the exigences of the church, had suffered himself to be engaged in holy orders, yet he looked upon it as a kind of force and tyranny put upon him,<sup>i</sup> which he knew not well how to digest; and it caused his natural inclinations to privacy and retirement with so much a greater impetus to return upon him.<sup>k</sup> He had been of late strongly invited and importuned by his dear friend Basil,<sup>l</sup> to come to him into his Pontic solitudes, and though he desired nothing more, yet he knew not as yet how to desert his parents. But his brother Cæsarius being now returned from court, with a purpose to fix at home, gave him opportunity to withdraw, who thereupon presently betook himself to his old companion; with whom he spent some years in that solitary recess, where he perfectly learned to despise the world, to correct the extravagancies of nature, to regulate his passions, and to subdue the lower appetites to the laws of reason and sobriety. He lay upon the ground, fed sparingly upon the meanest diet, wore nothing but what was coarse and vile; he watched, wept, and fasted; worked hard all day, and fared hard at night, which he spent many times entire in hymns or contemplations; so far from yielding to the courtship of any pleasure, that he suffered it not so much as to address itself unto his thoughts. Nor was he yet so entirely taken up in these severe exercises of mortification, as wholly to neglect his studies, which he daily improved, especially that of the holy scriptures, which the oftener he read the better he liked, so that in a short time he began to disrelish those profane authors which before-time had stolen away so many of his hours, and had entertained him with so much delight.

IV. He thus employed himself, when the necessity of affairs at home forcibly ravished him from his sweet retirements. His father stooped under the infirmities of age, and was no longer able to attend his charge with that care and diligence he was

<sup>i</sup> *Carm. de vit. sua*, vol. ii. p. 6.

<sup>k</sup> *Orat. i. p. 4. xix. p. 312.*

<sup>l</sup> *Vid. Naz. Epist. iv. v. p. 769.*



wont to do : the Arians, by their interest at court, carried all before them in every place ; turning out and putting in at pleasure, and by their agents and emissaries in all parts perverting men of simple and honest minds. To be helpful to him in these circumstances, his father had oft solicited him to return ; and besides his own, had used the intercession of friends to persuade him, till at length he yielded, and came back. He returned about Easter, and took the occasion of making an oration to the people ;<sup>m</sup> as afterwards, to vindicate himself from those ill interpretations which some men had made of his flight into the wilderness, he published a large apologetic,<sup>n</sup> wherein he shews it was not fear of danger, nor making light of an ecclesiastic office, nor discontent that better preferment was not offered him, that had caused him to retire ; but a great love to solitude, a sense of his unfitness for an ecclesiastic charge, and a dread of the importance and difficulties of the office : whereupon he proceeds elegantly to describe the sacerdotal office, and what are the genuine qualifications of a true and well-accomplished prelate, with severe reflections upon the irregular ordinations, and mis-carriages of many in those times. That as to his return, he was swayed in it by a double motive : his desire to gratify the church of Nazianzum, who were importunate for his coming among them ; and the reverence he bore to his parents, whose commands he could no longer resist, and whose necessities called for his assistance. Thus he became coadjutor to his father, the cares of whose old age he relieved by his unwearied pains and diligence, in preaching, opposing, and convincing gainsayers, and all other parts of the ministerial function ; though some, who had been forward to recall him from his solitudes, shewed a great coldness and indifferency to his ministry, when he was come among them, whereof he complains with some resentment in an oration preached on purpose upon that occasion.<sup>o</sup>

V. He had not long entered upon this charge, when a sad accident did greatly afflict their family ; the death, I mean, of his brother Cæsarius, who departed this life a little after the terrible earthquake that happened in Bithynia, Octob. 11th, anno 368 : a gentleman, whose parts, learning, and virtues, made him equal to any, superior to most of that time. After a pious

<sup>m</sup> Orat. xli. p. 673. Vid. Nicet. argum. v. comm. in hanc Orat.

<sup>n</sup> Orat. i. seu Apologet. post fugam.

<sup>o</sup> Orat. ii. p. 46.

education under his parents, he was sent to Alexandria,<sup>p</sup> where he soon went beyond his companions with great success; travelling through the whole circle of the sciences, though he particularly betook himself to the study of physic, and became so eminent in that profession, that in his return (as we noted before) he was invited to stay at Constantinople upon the most honourable terms; as before, his quick parts, vast learning, strict temperance and sobriety had endeared him to all at Alexandria. He returned with his brother into his own country, to which he consecrated the first-fruits of his profession, not more to his own credit than the advantage of the places where he lived. Here he continued some years, when, to the dissatisfaction of his friends, he removed to Constantinople under the reign of Julian; who loved a man of learning wherever he met him, but was particularly taken with Cæsarius. He had scarce given a specimen of his learning, and excellency in his art, when he was made chief physician to the emperor; and the highest honours and offices at court not thought too great for him, being at last made treasurer to the emperor. It was no small grief and trouble to his parents (nay, and what others reproached them with) that he had thus disposed of himself. What, the son of a Christian bishop thrust himself into the service and family of an apostate emperor; one that openly defied, and plainly subverted Christianity? Was it for him to engage in honours and offices, to hunt after power and grandeur, to amass wealth and treasure, at a time when he should think it the richest, noblest, and safest course, with a generous courage to oppose the growing impieties of the age, and to get as far as he could out of the reach of the villanies and mischiefs of an evil time? How could bishops ever hope to prevail with others, not to suffer themselves to be carried down the stream, or to keep themselves from being infected with the superstition and idolatry of the times, if they could not first persuade their own children? With what face could they reprove others for their faults, that swept not before their own door, and removed the objections that lay at home? All which his brother represented in a letter to him,<sup>q</sup> beseeching him to lay down his offices, and retire, as the only way to secure himself, and to refresh, comfort, and preserve the lives of his aged parents, at all times ready to tumble into their graves, but

<sup>p</sup> Naz. Orat. x. p. 163.

<sup>q</sup> Epist. xvii. p. 779.

now wholly unable to bear up under the weight of so great a trouble. That if all this swayed nothing, he would only put him in mind, that one of these two things must be his portion: either, that continuing a sincere Christian, he must be unequally yoked with a shameful and impious tribe, and live unworthy of himself, and the great hopes that had been conceived of him; or if he did go on to pursue honour and applause, it would betray him to temptation and a snare, and what would prove bitterness in the latter end. The counsel had its desired effect; Cæsarius grew weary of his attendance at court, and resolved to part with all, rather than “make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience.” Julian had attempted his constancy,<sup>r</sup> with arguments suited both to his hopes and fears; but these were easily thrown off. Next he sought to run him down by force of reason, and a warm and brisk dispute passed between them. But Cæsarius stood his ground, and came off conqueror; and having answered all his sophisms, and rejected all his offers, in conclusion plainly told him, that he both was a Christian, and was resolved to be so. And though, notwithstanding all this, the emperor was unwilling to part with him, yet being then preparing for his expedition against Persia, Cæsarius took the opportunity to return. About two years after he went back to court, when Valens, not yet tainted with Arianism, was advanced to the Eastern empire, by whom he was restored to his former office of *comes rerum privatarum*, or treasurer of the imperial rents; in which capacity a rescript to him is yet extant in the Theodosian Code. Indeed, both Valentinian and Valens were at strife, which of them should have him; though Valentinian was willing to resign him up, as fittest to serve the Eastern emperor. Nor was his present employment any more than an earnest of what higher dignities were designed for him. In the execution of this office he went into Bithynia, where he was when that fatal earthquake happened;<sup>s</sup> which, as in other places it left such lamentable footsteps of its rage and fury, so particularly overturned the great and famous city of Nice, with the far major part of its inhabitants; and Cæsarius himself had perished in the common ruins, had not the Divine Providence miraculously interposed for his deliverance, by preserving him and some few more under

<sup>r</sup> Naz. Orat. x. p. 167.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. etiam Naz. Carm. i. de reb. suis, vol. ii. p. 34.



hollow parts of the ruined houses, so that he escaped without any considerable damage. This accident Nazianzen immediately laid hold of, writing to his brother wisely to improve what had happened to him,<sup>t</sup> that even the fears of danger might be managed to very useful purposes, and to the bringing of us nearer unto God; that we should not so much resent the evils that befall us, as be thankful to God that we are delivered from them; and in all circumstances of life, whether private or public, devote ourselves to him, who is the author of our preservation, and whose service we ought not to neglect for a few little trifling advantages which places of honour and profit might bring in; an admonition that perhaps might not be overwelcome to him: that he heartily wished himself with him, to bear part in the joy of his deliverance, and more fully to discourse him about these matters; but if that could not be, that at least he might, out of hand, enjoy his company at home, where they might jointly solemnize the memory of so signal a preservation. Cæsarius understood his meaning, and, it seems, followed his advice: for soon after, he came home, fell sick, and died, and his funeral was attended with psalmodes, and lighted torches carried before it; wherein his own mother bore her part: his funeral oration was made by his brother, wherein he especially commends him for his ingenuous temper, his sobriety, and the strictness of his conversation; his care to keep himself, in the midst of all his greatness, from being corrupted with the snares of the world, and the vices that attend princes' courts; his fidelity and constancy to his religion, and his incomparable charity to the poor; whom by his last will he made the sole heirs of his estate,<sup>u</sup> comprising all in a few words, worthy to be written in letters of gold, τὰ ἐμὰ πάντα βούλομαι γενέσθαι τῶν πτωχῶν, "My will is, that all that I have be given to the poor." His estate was considerable, (though he had lost no small part of it in the fatal earthquake,) but no sooner was he dead, but some greedy officers laid hands upon it, pretending it due to them, and that they must be accountable for it to the exchequer; nay, and Nazianzen, who had possessed himself of some small part of it, and disposed it to the use of his will, was brought into trouble about it; inso-much, that he was forced to address himself to Sophronius the

<sup>t</sup> Epist. xvi. p. 778.

<sup>u</sup> Naz. Orat. x. p. 173. Basil. Epist. xxxii. s. 1.

governor,<sup>w</sup> and entreat him to do right to his deceased friend, one whom both living and dying he had loved and honoured; and that he would pity and relieve those who were innocently betrayed into so troublesome an office. The contest, it seems, was not presently ended, it depending after Nazianzen was made bishop, as appears from St. Basil's letter to Sophronius about this very thing;<sup>x</sup> to whom he truly states the case, and begs of him to use his interest with the treasurer, that the business might be brought to an issue; and that he would find out a way, whereby the good man might be freed from the vexatious suit wherein he was entangled. But to pass by that, so great and exemplary were Cæsarius's virtues, that he was invested after his death with the honour of a saint, and his name has found a place in the Martyrologies of the church.<sup>y</sup> Suidas says,<sup>z</sup> he wrote several books, and especially against the Gentiles; and at this day there are four books of Dialogues concerning divine and spiritual matters extant under his name:<sup>a</sup> and for his, it is plain, they went in the days of Photius, when they consisted of two hundred and twenty Questions and Answers, though they contain somewhat less than two hundred at this day.<sup>b</sup> The style is clear, but poetical, and the matters themselves accurately enough discussed. But it is very evident, that the author of these dialogues lived somewhat later than our Cæsarius, as is manifest from several passages and quotations in them; nor did he tarry, much less publicly teach, twenty years at Constantinople, as is expressly affirmed in the title of them. Not to say, that the argument of them being purely theological, and of the subtlest questions and speculations in religion, was foreign to a man of his profession, and unsuitable to his practice and course of life, and who was not baptized neither till a little before his death: and what is more, his brother, in the large and particular accounts he gives of him, has not the least hint to this purpose; no, nor that ever he committed any thing to writing, which if he had, it is not reasonable to think he would have passed it by.

<sup>w</sup> Naz. Epist. xviii. p. 781.

<sup>x</sup> Epist. xxxii. s. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Mart. Rom. Feb. xxv.

<sup>z</sup> In v. *Καισάριος*.

<sup>a</sup> Ext. Gr. Lat. in Bibl. patrum, Gr. Lat. vol. i. p. 545. ed. 1624.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Bill. argum. in Naz. Orat. c. Cod. CCX. col. 540.



## SECTION III.

HIS ACTS FROM HIS BEING MADE BISHOP TILL HIS GOING TO  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

Basil's importunate soliciting him to become bishop of Sasima, and why. His obstinate refusal of that offer. The sharp contests between these dear friends upon that account. Overruled by the persuasions and authority of his father, he is ordained bishop of that place. His apologetic oration upon that occasion. His oration to entertain Gregory Nyssen. Anthimus of Tyana's endeavour to gain him over to his side. Nazianzen's utter refusal to desert Basil. His neglecting to go to Sasima. The great inconveniences of that place. His withdrawing to an hospital, and being remanded thence to the assistance of his father, submitted to, upon what condition. His oration made upon that occasion. The mutiny of the people of Nazianzen against the imperial assessor. All things pacified by Nazianzen's oration. The death of his sister Gorgonia. Her transcendent virtues, pious life, and happy death. The death of his father. His great age, and many infirmities. His exemplary virtues briefly enumerated. The sermon preached by Nazianzen at his funeral. This followed by the death of his mother Nonna. The holy life, the admirable graces and accomplishments of that pious and excellent woman. His retirement from Nazianzum, and presiding over a society of devout virgins at Seleucia. Summoned to the synod at Antioch. By them obliged to go to Constantinople, to support the sinking cause of catholic truth, miserably oppressed by the Arian factions.

His brother being dead, Nazianzen continued at home, performing all dutiful offices to his parents, when he was unhappily drawn into new troubles; which he oft bewails as the greatest inquietude of his life. Valens the emperor (out of spite, as some conjecture, to St. Basil) had divided Cappadocia into two provinces, and had constituted Tyana the metropolis of the second Cappadocia, by which means Anthimus, bishop of that see, set up for a metropolitan, and laid claim to the churches within that province, formerly dependent upon the see of Cæsarea. Basil resented the injury, but knew not how to remedy it, nor to make up the loss, but by erecting some new bishoprics; which he did, and among the rest Sasima, (*τὰ Σάσιμα*,) a town lying within the verge of the second Cappadocia. A trusty friend in this station, he reckoned, would mightily secure his interest, and keep a fair decorum between him and Anthimus, the town lying between Cæsarea and Tyana; and none could he think of so fit for this affair as his dear friend Gregory. To him therefore he proposes it by letter,<sup>c</sup> which the other rejected with contempt,

<sup>c</sup> Naz. Orat. xx. p. 356. Epist. xxxi. et xxxii. p. 795. Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 7. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 14.

as a thing destructive of his beloved privacy, which made him decline all public preferment in the church, but this especially, a place so mean and contemptible in itself, and upon all accounts so inconvenient for him. Basil, nettled with his obstinate refusal, treated him it seems with some severity, calling him a rustic and a clown, and a man that understood not his interest, and that was resolved to forfeit and disoblige his friends. The other replied, with stomach enough, that he knew not wherein he had deserved this usage; that it was hard for a man first to be abused, and then charged for complaining of it; that perhaps the best account that could be given of it was, that his archiepiscopal dignity had swelled him with pride and loftiness; otherwise, abating the eminency of his place, he knew not wherein he was inferior to him, a thing which he himself at all other times was forward enough to allow; that the world talked loud of him for this unkind attempt, and that he was weary with making apologies to defend him from those sharp censures that were passed upon him; that those who spoke softest, said, it was not according to those strict laws of friendship that were between them; that it was an instance of great contempt and disrespect, after he had made so much use of his assistance, (he means, I suppose, his endeavours in promoting Basil to the see of Cæsarea,) he should now cast him away as a dishonourable instrument, good for nothing, and deal with him like the supporters of a new-built arch, which, when the structure is able to stand alone, are taken down, and thrown aside as useless and unprofitable; that he begged of him to let him enjoy his ease and privacy, and not to reproach him with sloth and idleness, because he refused his offer of Sasima, and had no mind to a bishopric, while others were contending for them with zeal and fierceness; a quiet life being to him above all other business, wherein, if he had more to follow him, the church would have far less trouble, and the faith, which now by every party was made an instrument of faction, would be preserved much more entire and sound: that therefore he should do well to let him alone, and not attempt to rob the new metropolis of so glorious a prize as Sasima, and in the mean time discover (what he ought to keep secret) the unwarrantable design he had in it: that however he disposed his affairs, yet, as to himself, he had gained these two points from his friendship, never henceforth to trust

friends, nor to esteem any thing more excellent and valuable than God. To such heats and jars may the dearest, and the firmest friendship be sometimes exposed.

II. Basil, though meeting with all this opposition, would not however give over the attempt. His own interest failing, he knew no better way to overpower Nazianzen, than by gaining over his father to his party. He did so, and by his persuasions and commands he was at last prevailed with to comply, and accordingly was ordained bishop of Sasima; at what time he made an apologetic oration,<sup>d</sup> directed peculiarly to his father and St. Basil, and let them know what it was had made him so unwilling to undertake that charge, at the consideration whereof he was as much amazed as children are wont to be at a great flash of lightning; that the thing being done, it was but reasonable they should be his guides and tutors, to instruct him in the true art of feeding and governing his flock; withal modestly reflecting upon Basil, that he who, while they were fellow-pupils, had treated him with so much humanity, should now put such hard things upon him; that he had indeed got the better of him, and carried the day, but it was not by argument, but by force; that he should prosperously go on in his pastoral government, and shew him the way both by his precepts and examples, whose happy conduct he was resolved to follow. Upon the same argument and occasion, and to the same persons, (though whether at the same time I know not,) he discoursed in another oration,<sup>e</sup> modestly complaining of the injury that had been done him, in drawing him out of the shades of his beloved solitude, and thrusting him upon the stage of a public life, a thing he little expected from persons of such intimate familiarity and friendship. The next day came Gregory Nyssen, Basil's brother, (who probably should have been present at the ordination,) whose arrival (it being then a festival-commemoration of the martyrs) he welcomed with an oration,<sup>f</sup> wherein, passing by his own case, as not proper for that occasion, he principally presses them to imitate the piety, purity, zeal, and constancy of the martyrs, to cleanse ourselves, and offer up soul and body as a living, holy, and rational sacrifice; this was the way truly to celebrate the festival, and render it acceptable to Christ; this the way to honour the martyrs, and not to meet to eat and drink, to in-

<sup>d</sup> Orat. vii. p. 142.

<sup>e</sup> Orat. v. p. 134.

<sup>f</sup> Orat. vi. p. 136.



dulge luxury and debauchery, things fitter for a Pagan festival than a Christian solemnity. Anthimus of Tyana quickly heard of the ordination, whereupon, accompanied with some bishops of his province, he came to Nazianzum,<sup>g</sup> under pretence indeed of making a visit to the elder Gregory, but the design was to try if he could bring over Nazianzen to his party. He set upon him with all the methods of insinuation, sometimes congratulating, otherwhiles entreating; sometimes threatening, and then expostulating; now commending, and anon reproaching; telling him that he ought to look upon him only as his ecclesiastical superior, and upon the new metropolis as the greatest and most honourable. Nazianzen vindicated the honour of the see of Cæsarea, as the most ancient and true metropolis of all those parts, nor could he be prevailed with to stir one foot. So that Anthimus departed in discontent, foaming, and charging him with Basilism, or an undue partiality to Basil, alluding to the charge of the Athenian ambassadors, who accused each other of Philippism, that is, of a traitorous correspondence with that Macedonian prince. After this, he summoned him to a synod, which the other refused, as an injury to the metropolitane rights; then he wrote to him to intercede, that Basil and they might meet, to consult about and debate this matter. This he embraced as an equitable proposal, referring it to Basil to appoint time and place, or whether at all he would meet about it. But I believe it came to nothing. For Nazianzen, highly dissatisfied with what he had done, never so much as once honoured his see with his presence,<sup>h</sup> nor performed any one ministerial or episcopal act in it: the truth is, it was a place that had little in it to invite him. It was a paltry inconsiderable town,<sup>i</sup> close and narrow, situate upon three great roads; the common stage, where all the public horses and carriages were lodged; the air unwholesome, the soil barren, and destitute of water; the people inconstant and vagrants, the place perpetually full of noise and smoke and dust and filth. So that he could not but look upon his sending hither, as a condemnation to a prison or a dungeon. And it highly aggravated the unkindness, that, when Basil had above fifty sees in his province, he should pick out this, and create it on purpose for so dear a friend. And yet, after all, if he would

<sup>g</sup> Naz. Epist. xxx. p. 797.

<sup>h</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 9.

<sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 7. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 14.

have gone thither, he could not, for upon his refusal of submission, his denying to desert Basil, and betray the ancient rights of his metropolitan, Anthimus had seized upon it, so that there could be no hopes for him to reside there with any tolerable comfort, or so much as with safety to his life.

III. In these circumstances he knew not well which way to turn him, but judged it the best way for the present to retire;<sup>k</sup> and so withdrew to an hospital, seated in a solitary place, where he passed his time in pious exercises, and the strictness of a philosophic life. But neither here could he find any rest. His father's commands followed him close, who earnestly desired (if possible) to fix him in his episcopal station at Sasima; but that being peremptorily refused, he pressed him to come home, and under him to take upon him the charge of Nazianzum, his great years having disabled him, and in the judgment of all given him a writ of ease. He knew he had a temper to deal with, mightily averse to the incumbrances of a public life, and therefore recommended the motion to him, with all the arts of endearment and soft insinuation. Taking him gently by the beard, "Son," said he, "your own father is become your petitioner, an aged father to a youthful son; a master to one that is a servant by nature and a double obligation. It is not riches or great things I ask, I require no more than that, like Aaron and Samuel, you would undertake to minister before the Lord. Despise not the desires of him who was the instrument of your being; and let it appear you have an indulgent father: the thing I request is fair and reasonable; and though it were not, yet remember it is your father requests it, one who has spent so great part of his life in the ministeries of religion. Gratify me therefore in this, or else I vow that somebody else shall close mine eyes, and commit my body to the ground, which I intend to inflict as the punishment of your disobedience. It is but a little time that I have to live; assist me in it, and then I shall leave you to your own counsels." To this pathetic address Nazianzen replied, "Sir, how troublesome soever the commands are which you are pleased to lay upon me, yet for your sake I submit, and I am content to take upon me the administration of your cure at Nazianzum, only upon this condition, that whenever you shall be translated into heaven, I may be perfectly free from all obligation to that charge." Upon

<sup>k</sup> Vid. ubi supr.

these terms they agreed, and he became his coadjutor in the episcopal office. Whence the error of St. Jerome,<sup>1</sup> Rufinus,<sup>m</sup> Socrates,<sup>n</sup> and troops that follow their authority, is very obvious, when they make him to have been bishop of Nazianzum, while himself most expressly tells us,<sup>o</sup> that he was not; and that out of reverence to his aged father, and the mighty importunity of friends, he only engaged in it as a substitute for his father's life, with open protestation, that he would be obliged no longer, nor succeed him in it. At the entrance upon his charge he made an oration,<sup>p</sup> wherein he addresses himself first to his father, with whom he expostulates why he had made choice of so weak a crutch to support his age and cares, and, indeed, why any at all? His body, though infirm and weak, was yet acted by a soul brisk and vigorous, and now wholly free from the inordinate motions of the sensual appetite; that it concerned him however to have made such a choice, wherein he might not seem to have been led more by considerations of consanguinity and relation, than the common good. Next he turns to the people, whom he acquaints with the force that had been used towards him, and how much he had yielded to the age of his father, and the importunity of his friends, and therefore begged their assistance, according to their several capacities: that he was distracted between two different principles; his inclination to solitude made him cast an eye to the mountains and the wilderness, and long for those happy opportunities of retiring from the regions of sense, of turning inward, and conversing with God and his own mind; on the other hand, the sacerdotal consecration that had passed upon him, obliged him to appear in public, and to consult the happiness of others, to reclaim men from vice, and repair the divine image in them, and to form and build up a peculiar people unto God; that no man ought merely to consult himself, but to promote the good of others, though with some disadvantage to himself, a practice wherein our Lord has set us the most generous example: that he would, as much as might be, reconcile these two courses, neither desert this ministry, nor yet take upon him a burden too heavy for him, and which his strength would not serve him to go through with; that therefore for the present he would undertake the charge, to comply with his father's age and

<sup>1</sup> In Greg. Naz. c. 117.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. ii. c. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Lib. iv. c. 11. 26.

<sup>o</sup> Epist. xlii. p. 804. Orat. viii. p. 148.

<sup>p</sup> Orat. viii. p. 145.



infirmities, but after that he would be free, nor should any man prevail with, or compel him against his inclination; and though the succeeding in a paternal charge wanted not some considerable advantages to recommend it, yet that the best and safest course was both for governors and people to be mutually willing to embrace each other, the laws of religion and the church commanding the episcopacy, or oversight of the flock, to be undertaken willingly, and not by constraint to have it forced upon them.

IV. One of the first things he did, after his coming amongst them, (if I conjecture the time aright,) was his making their peace with the offended governor. The people of Nazianzum, either burdened with some unreasonable taxes, or vexed with some intolerable edict, had, it seems, broken out into evident symptoms of tumult and discontent. Whereat the governor, (whom one of the ancient scholiasts supposes to have been Julian, the assessor of the imperial taxes,<sup>q</sup> who had been Nazianzen's schoolfellow,<sup>r</sup> and was his intimate acquaintance,) highly offended, flew out into passion, and threatened to make them feel the justice of his provoked severity. To pacify his anger, and to allay the storm, Nazianzen gets up into the pulpit, and makes an oration to them;<sup>s</sup> wherein, after he had endeavoured to support the minds of the people under their apprehensions of danger, and advised them how to behave themselves, either to be secure or insolent in prosperity, nor yet despondent in calamitous times, but especially to submit to God, the supreme governor of the world, and to princes, as those that are sent by him to preserve the public order and discipline of mankind, obedience to government being one of the great laws of the Christian religion; he next directs his speech to the magistrates, whom he beseeches to own and stoop to his spiritual authority; and then, lastly, to the governor, whom he puts in mind of his pious education, his baptism, and strict profession of the catholic faith, persuading him, by many excellent arguments, to use his power with mercy and moderation, and to improve that authority for Christ which he had received from him; a subject which he manages with so much eloquence and strength of reason, that, were there nothing else, this alone were enough to shew him to have been one of the master-orators of that age.

V. About this time died his sister Gorgonia, whose funeral

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Billii arg. in Orat. xvii.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Orat. ix. p. 158.

<sup>s</sup> Orat. xvii. p. 265.

sermon he preached.<sup>t</sup> She was the wife of Vitalian, a gentleman in those parts, by whom she had several children. A woman of transcendent virtues; pious towards God, whose house she frequented, whose ministers she revered; charitable to the poor, whose necessities she relieved, and her house open to all that wanted; prudent and exemplary in her relations; one who knew how to reconcile the advantages of celibacy with the conveniencies of a married life, and to reap the fruits of both; grave, but not austere; neither merry nor morose; a great enemy to all modes of artificial beauty; chaste in her garb, temperate in her diet, much conversant in watching and abstinence, spending whole nights in singing psalms, or in reading the scriptures, or in divine meditations or fervent prayers, wherein she was so frequent, that her knees were grown hard, like those of camels; so modest and bashful, that in extremities of sickness she would not endure a physician to come near her, being unwilling that in those circumstances any man should either see or touch her. She was seized with a very malignant fever, which, attended with some other complications, rendered her case desperate beyond the hopes of her friends, or the skill of physicians. In this condition she ventured upon a strange, unaccountable way of cure. Finding some intermission of her fits, she got up, and, in a stormy night, went to church, where she kneeled down before the altar, or communion-table, and poured out her prayers to Christ; and laying her head upon the table, protested she would not take it thence, till she had recovered her health; withal pouring out such abundance of tears, that she moistened the pieces of the holy eucharist (*τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος*, “the antitypes or figures of Christ’s precious body and blood,” as Nazianzen there calls them<sup>u</sup>) which she had about her; whereupon of a sudden she found herself perfectly restored to health: which yet did not abate her vigorous desires to depart, and to be with Christ; and God granted her request, and was pleased, by an extraordinary vision, to represent to her the particular day of her dissolution; which being come, she called for her husband, children, and friends about her, and having discoursed incomparably to them, what properly concerned their several duties, she fell into a trance, so that they all concluded her to be dead; but her lips being perceived still

<sup>t</sup> Orat. xi. p. 176.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 187.



to move, she was found, by those who laid their ears close to her, to be repeating of a psalm, which she had then brought to the conclusion, "I will lay me down in peace to sleep, and will take my rest;" and with that finished her psalm and her life together.

VI. Her death was followed not long after with that of her father, the aged bishop of Nazianzum, then near an hundred years old,<sup>w</sup> after he had sat forty-five years bishop of that place. His great age betrayed him to many infirmities, and those attended with painful and acute distempers, which grew upon him as he approached nearer to death, and wherein he seldom had any intermissions, but while engaged in the public ministrations, all which time he had perfect ease; whether the intense-ness and fervency of his devotion overpowered the sense of pain, or God mercifully restrained and tied it up, while he was engaged in so good a work. He was renowned for his strictness and sobriety, his justice and integrity, even before his conversion to Christianity, as afterwards he became a serious professor, and a most incomparable prelate; and though wanting those previous advantages of education which others had,<sup>x</sup> yet he quickly made up all by an indefatigable industry, whereby he arrived to an exquisite understanding of the scriptures, and those controversies that exercised the church in those times. A constant friend to, and zealous defender of the catholic doctrine: he found his see miserably overrun with vice and error, both which, with infinite diligence, he rooted up; and that God might be worshipped in a decent manner, he built from the ground a very neat and beautiful, a stately and magnificent church,<sup>y</sup> elegantly adorned with columns and porticos, and with all sorts of curious sculpture and architecture, wherein, though he took in the contributions of the people, yet the main of it was done at his own charge. In his garb and diet he was wont to observe a just decorum, equally distant from sordidness and curiosity; and though none contented themselves with meaner food and clothes, yet he managed it in such a way, as seemed least liable to vanity and affectation. In his conversation he was courteous and affable, none more gentle and easy to pardon injuries; and though nature had formed him inclinable to passion and quick resentments, yet he

<sup>w</sup> Orat. xix. p. 313.    <sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 206. et Carm. iv. de anim. suæ calamit. vol. ii. p. 71.

<sup>y</sup> Hujusce templi descriptionem habes, Orat. xix. p. 313.

never gave way to it, but where zeal against obstinate offenders made it necessary: to the poor he was kind and charitable, and indeed a common father; and, what crowned all, was a man plain and honest, a true "Nathanael, in whom there was no guile." Amongst other prelates present at the funeral was St. Basil, to whom Nazianzen, in the beginning of the oration which he then made, particularly addressed himself with many singular commendations, as in the conclusion of it he directed his discourse to his mother Nonna,<sup>y</sup> to support her mind under so great a loss; that she was not to wonder at what had happened; all things in this world are obnoxious to change and mutability, subject to decay and die, the happiness of the other world only being immutable and eternal, to provide for which is the great business of life, and that therefore there could be no reason to mourn for those that had made so happy an exchange, unless we can be so uncharitable as to rob another of his happiness, merely for our own conveniency; if the burden was heavy, it was but a little way she had to bear it, she herself being like shortly to follow after; and though they were great comforts she had lost, yet it was to be remembered how long she had enjoyed them; that it was but fit she should submit to what was best; and she, who with so much wisdom and courage had borne the death of her children in their most flourishing years, ought much more to bear the fall of a tottering carcass, quite worn out with age and weakness. And indeed the consolations were proper and seasonable; for the good woman, thus deprived of the main staff of her life, and herself ready to drop into the grave, (being near of equal years with her husband,) died (as may probably be conjectured) soon after. A woman of incomparable piety, which she inherited as an hereditary blessing from her ancestors,<sup>z</sup> and which she imparted first to her husband, and then to her children; a faithful wife, and an excellent mother. Those little arts of fineness and bravery, whereof other women are so much enamoured, she slighted, accounting the truest beauty to lie in a divine temper of mind, and no nobility to be comparable to the virtues of a good life. She carefully administered the affairs of her family, as if she had had nothing else to mind, and yet attended the duties of religion, as if that alone had been her business. The ministers of religion she was wont to entertain

<sup>y</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xix. p. 315.

<sup>z</sup> Orat. x. p. 161. xix. p. 290, 291, etc.

with a profound reverence, beholding them as the messengers of heaven, and stewards of holy things: her time she spent in fasting and watching, in prayers and singing psalms day and night; in the public congregation she was taken up with silent admirations, and her soul possessed with so awful a reverence of the majesty of those divine solemnities, that she would never turn her back upon the holy table, nor spit upon the pavement of that place, where God was so devoutly worshipped; she shunned the converse of the Gentile ladies, even those of them that were nearly related to her, whom she would not salute with the ordinary expressions of familiarity, nor eat with those that defiled themselves with pagan idolatrous worship. In the midst of those many and severe troubles that came upon her, she maintained an even temper of mind; whatever accident befell her, praise was always the first word in her mouth; not a tear in her eye, nor a mourning habit to be seen upon her, upon any of the church's festivals. And yet, at the same time, none more compassionate of the miseries of others, and more ready to assist them; singularly kind to her indigent relations, and no less charitable to the poor; a public guardian to widows and orphans, to provide for whose necessities she reckoned was the only true and durable riches, and the best way at once to secure and improve an estate.

VII. By these heavy breaches in the family, one following close at the heels of the other, Nazianzen was sufficiently weaned from the place of his nativity, and looking upon himself as now fully released from the obligation of his promise, resolved immediately to throw up his charge. In vain he attempted to procure a successor to be placed at Nazianzum; whereupon he retired, and went to Seleucia,<sup>a</sup> famous for the temple of St. Thecla the virgin-martyr; where, in a monastery of devout virgins dedicated to that saint, he continued a long time, hoping that in the mean while the see of Nazianzum would have been disposed of. He returned much about the time of St. Basil's death, whom, to his great trouble, he could not attend in his last hours, being himself at that time detained by sickness, though afterwards he honoured his memory with an elegant encomiastic,<sup>b</sup> where, in lively colours, he described that great

<sup>a</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 9. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Orat. xx. p. 316.



man's virtues and course of life. But the church of Nazianzum remained still a widow, and so continued several years, the greater affairs of the church swallowing up the care of that. About this time, Nazianzen was summoned to the synod at Antioch, holden anno 378, to heal the schism that had so long raged in that church, and to consult about the distracted state of the Eastern churches, miserably harassed by the late prevalency of the Arian party. In this council, some were deputed to go into one part, and some into another ; and among the rest, Nazianzen, as one whose polite parts and learning could not but render him acceptable to the court, and capable of coping with the ablest adversary, was overruled quite contrary to his own inclination (as he expressly tells us) to go to Constantinople,<sup>c</sup> (the main-spring that gave life and motion to the mischievous attempts of the several parties,) there to encourage and assist the orthodox, and to undertake the defence of the catholic cause.

#### SECTION IV.

##### HIS ACTS FROM HIS COMING TO CONSTANTINOPLE TILL THE MEETING OF THE GREAT COUNCIL THERE.

His abode at Constantinople, where. His numerous congregation of Catholics. His oratory erected into a church ; called Anastasia, and why. The mighty opposition he met with from several sectaries. His fame hereby increased. Two of his most noted scholars, St. Jerome and Evagrius Ponticus. This Evagrius, who. Nazianzen desired by the Catholics at Constantinople for their bishop. The beginning of his troubles upon that account. Maximus the Cynic of Alexandria, who. His notorious juggling and impostures. His insinuating himself into Nazianzen's favour. His ambitious designs to obtain the bishopric of Constantinople. Three Egyptian bishops privately sent thither for that purpose, who secretly ordain Maximus. A great tumult hereupon in the city. Nazianzen's oration to them at that time. Maximus forced to fly the city ; makes his interest among the Western bishops, who appear in his behalf ; solicits his cause at court, but in vain ; flies to Alexandria, and is expelled thence. The fresh rage and malice of the Arians against Nazianzen. His particular answers to the frivolous cavils and scurrilous reflections which they cast upon him. His mildness and clemency blamed by his friends and followers. The declaration of his resolution to leave that place. This highly resented by his auditors. His promise not presently to forsake them. Theodosius's edict for confirmation of the catholic faith, and suppressing heretical conventicles. His arrival at Constantinople, and publication of another law more express to the same purpose. The date of that law not corrupted. His expelling Demophilus the Arian bishop out of the city. The churches delivered

<sup>c</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 10. Vid. Naz. querel. ad Episcop. ibid. p. 301, 302.



to the Catholics. Nazianzen highly in favour with the emperor. Preparations for the solemnity of his instalment, and what happened at that time. His modest declining that solemnity. The manner of his private life. His sickness, and singular clemency towards an assassin that crowded into his bedchamber with a design to kill him.

COMING to Constantinople, he took up his lodging with one of his own relations; <sup>d</sup> whom Baronius not improbably supposes to be Nicobulus, <sup>e</sup> who had married Alypiana, one of his sister Gorgonia's daughters. Here he found the catholic interest at the lowest ebb; the Arians, during the favourable government of the emperor Valens, had possessed themselves of all the churches, and carried things with so high a hand, that scarce any durst openly appear to own the truth. He first preached in his lodgings to those that repaired thither, (Valens's edict having lately given liberty to the Catholics,) and the congregation soon grew numerous; and the house, by the bounty of his kinsman, was freely bestowed, and immediately erected and consecrated into a church, which Nazianzen entitled the church of Anastasia, or the Resurrection, because the catholic faith, which in that city had hitherto been oppressed and stifled, here seemed to have its resurrection. <sup>f</sup> Though Sozomen gives another reason of the name: <sup>g</sup> that while they were one day at their public worship, a woman great with child fell down from a gallery into the church, and was taken up dead. But the congregation immediately joining in prayer to God for her, she revived, and appeared as one miraculously raised from the dead. But the former account is most to be relied on, as being given by him who had most cause to know, I mean Nazianzen himself. In this church he assembled daily, and preached boldly, not with more success to his ministry, not with greater satisfaction to his people, than with trouble and vexation to his enemies. The Arians and Apollinarians, an upstart sect, (whose growing errors he also vigorously opposed,) had their eyes upon him, and were sufficiently apprehensive, how much their cause was like to be baffled by so able a champion's entering the lists against them. Hereupon they fall to their ancient artifices of reproach and slander, traducing him to the people as an infamous heretic, particularly that he maintained that there were three Gods, <sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Orat. xxviii. p. 484.

<sup>e</sup> Ad Ann. 378.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Carm. ix. de insomn. Anast. p. 78. Orat. xxxii. p. 527. <sup>g</sup> Lib. vii. c. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol ii. p. 10, 11, etc. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 18, 19.

because he had asserted that in the Holy Trinity there were three *hypostases*, or persons subsisting, which the vulgar (custom not having as yet fixed the notion of the word) took for distinct substances. Having thus prepared the minds of the people, they next instigate them to open violence, who thereupon treated him as he went along the streets with showers of stones; and not content with this, they dragged him as a malefactor before the magistrate, charging him with tumult and sedition. The rage and the clamour was great against him, but he comforted himself at that instant to remember, that though they had the stronger party, yet he and his had the better cause:<sup>i</sup> they had the churches, he had God; they had the people to back them, he had angels to guard him; they had boldness and confidence, he the faith on his side; they could threaten, while he could pray; they beat him, and he endure it; they had wealth and treasure, he the true catholic doctrine: he had, it is true, but a little flock, but it was securely lodged; a narrow fold, but it was free from wolves, and the assaults of thieves and robbers; but which he doubted not daily to see enlarged, and that by the accession of those who at present were wolves, who he hoped would become not sheep only, but some of them pastors of the flock. The accusation being examined, was found false and groundless, and he accordingly dismissed without further trouble.

II. The oppositions he met with did but so much the more increase his fame and the number of his auditors, and drew to him admirers and followers out of foreign parts; among which, two were especially remarkable: St. Hierom, who having quitted the West, had some years since taken up his abode in the deserts of Syria, and being ordained presbyter by Paulinus of Antioch, came to Constantinople, and put himself under the tutorage and discipline of Gregory Nazianzen, an happiness wherein he glories at every turn:<sup>k</sup> the other was Evagrius Ponticus, a presbyter's son, born in Iberia,<sup>l</sup> near the Euxine sea; a man of a subtle wit, quick and ready apprehension, learned and eloquent, of a staid and grave temper, moved neither with injuries nor commenda-

<sup>i</sup> Orat. xxv. p. 440.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. xxxiv. ad Nepot. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 262. Catal. scriptt. eccl. in Greg. Naz. Adv. Jov. l. i. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 157. et alibi.

<sup>l</sup> Socrat. l. iv. c. 23. Sozom. l. vi. c. 30. Niceph. l. xi. c. 42.

tions. He studied philosophy and the holy scriptures under Nazianzen, who made him archdeacon of Constantinople, as before he had been ordained reader by St. Basil.<sup>m</sup> He was a handsome man, and loved neatness and elegance in his habit, which rendered his company acceptable to the ladies; insomuch, that a great man growing jealous of him, laid a design against his life; whereof being plainly warned in a dream, he the next day left the city, and fled first to Jerusalem, and then into Egypt: where, in the famous monastery of mount Nitria, he engaged in the strictest profession of the monastic life, and obstinately declined a bishopric, when afterwards pressed to it by Theophilus bishop of Alexandria. He was a great patron of the Origenian *dogmata*, and wrote many books, which they that are curious may find reckoned up by Socrates and Nicephorus.

III. The number of the orthodox was by this time grown considerable at Constantinople; who earnestly desired that a catholic bishop might be placed over them, and Nazianzen was the man designed, concurrent with the people's desires, wherein were the votes of almost all the orthodox bishops of the East; especially his old friend Meletius of Antioch, who stickled hard for it; and Peter, St. Athanasius's successor at Alexandria, who by letters congratulated the choice, and gave suffrage for his confirmation in that see: though the troubles that ensued, rendered it uneasy to him, and soon made him resolve to quit the place. They began thus. There was at Alexandria one Maximus, by birth an Egyptian,<sup>n</sup> by profession a Cynic philosopher, but withal a Christian; who pretended to be descended of a noble family, and that too honoured with the blood of martyrdom; and that himself, upon the persecution that arose after Athanasius's death, had for his constancy to the truth been banished to Oasis, one of the most uncomfortable solitudes in Egypt. He went habited, according to the custom of his order, in a *pallium*, with his hair growing to its full length, and a staff in his hand, carrying a semblance of the greatest strictness and gravity; and, as the men of that sect were wont, used bluntly to address himself to great men,<sup>o</sup> and freely to expostulate with them in matters of right and wrong; and took a liberty to reprove the vices of the age,

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 86. ubi de eo plura.

<sup>n</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 12, etc. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 20, etc.

<sup>o</sup> Naz. Orat. xxiii. p. 413.



and to censure and correct the miscarriages and indecencies of any persons of what rank soever. By these smooth and demure pretences he cast a mist before the eyes of the people, and concealed his fraud and treachery, his gluttony and covetousness, his pride and ambition, and the rest of those vices whereof he was really guilty. However, he had gained a considerable reputation in the world, and held correspondence with men of chiefest note in foreign parts, as appears by St. Basil's two letters to him.<sup>p</sup> And having thus acquired a stock of credit, he came to Constantinople, where the first thing he did was to insinuate himself into Nazianzen's acquaintance, who welcomed his arrival with an oration; wherein he expatiated himself in his praises for the nobility of his birth,<sup>q</sup> his relation to martyrs, his own personal sufferings, his masculine temper, and the admirable course and institution of his life: all which, afterwards, when he came to discover him, and was forced in another oration to set him out in his own colours, he tacitly retracted, either himself, or some other for him, that he might not seem to contradict himself, expunging the name of Maximus,<sup>r</sup> and inserting that of Hero the philosopher, the title that it bears at this day. Nay, so far had the subtle impostor made his way, that the good man took him into his house, and to his own table, instructed him in the mysteries of the faith, baptized him, and after some time admitted him to the lower orders of the church, and indeed communicated to him his most intimate counsels and transactions. And now the wretch thought himself sufficiently qualified to set up for himself: he saw Nazianzen was like to be fixed in that see, and he had not so mean an opinion of himself, as not to think he deserved it as well as his master. To this end he confederated with one of Nazianzen's presbyters, who, without any other provocation than that he himself had not been the person nominated to the bishopric, though in truth he governed all under Nazianzen, took part with Maximus, who accordingly laid their heads together to contrive and carry on the design. And now an interest is made for him at Alexandria: and Peter, who so lately stood for Nazianzen, and had by letters conveyed him his vote and suffrage, tacked about, and espoused Maximus's design; and three bishops (for so many I guess they were) are despatched

<sup>p</sup> Bas. Ep. ix. cclxxvii.

<sup>q</sup> Orat. xxiii. p. 409.

<sup>r</sup> Hieron. de script. in Greg. Naz. c. 117.



to Constantinople to effect the matter, who set out not long after the fleet that carried the public tribute of corn that was annually transported to Constantinople; the masters of which ships were Ammon, Apammon, Harpocras, Steppas, Rhodon, Anubis, and Hermannubis, whom Baronius, by a great mistake, makes to have been the bishops, and thereupon enters into a needless discourse of the *episcopi frumentarii*, and the corn-tribute: whenas (besides that Nazianzen styles them "contemptible seamen") it is plain, the bishops went not on board till after the fleet was set out, the masters whereof were to go before,<sup>s</sup> to prepare the way, and to promote the design: at whose arrival Nazianzen entertained them with an oration in commendation of their city,<sup>t</sup> that had been an impregnable fortress of the true doctrine of the church; of Athanasius their late, and Peter their present bishop, both stout champions of the faith; and that they themselves coming to the imperial city, had so readily joined themselves to the catholic party. And perhaps at this time it was that he made his particular encomiastic in praise of the great Athanasius,<sup>u</sup> whose virtues he fully describes, with a memorable account of his life and actions.

IV. Maximus found his design mightily strengthened by this accession of his countrymen, and yet to bind the Egyptian bishops firmer to him, he corrupted them with extraordinary bribes;<sup>w</sup> having to that end, by crafty insinuations, and a pretended security given, borrowed large sums of money of a certain presbyter, newly arrived at Constantinople from Thassus, an island in the Ægean sea, to buy pillars of Proconnesian marble, and other materials for the building a church in that island. And now the work went on apace, to which Nazianzen's absence contributed a fit opportunity; who, the day before, had, upon an indisposition, retired out of the city to take the air. That very night the Egyptian bishops privately broke into his church, and placed Maximus upon the episcopal throne. But morning coming on, and the report of it being spread about the city, both clergy and laity, magistrates and people, citizens and strangers, yea, the very Arians themselves flocked together, and in a great fury drove them out of the church, before they could finish what they

<sup>s</sup> Naz. Carm. de vit. sua, vpl. ii. p. 14.

<sup>t</sup> Orat. xxiv. p. 424.

<sup>u</sup> Orat. xxi. p. 373.

<sup>w</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 14. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 21.

had begun; so that, being forced out thence, they went into a player's house hard by, where, attended with a few lewd excommunicate persons, they cut off his hair, and consecrated him bishop of that place; which was no sooner done, but the people stormed more than before, loading him with all manner of revilings, and blaming Nazianzen himself for treating the wretch with so much kindness and humanity, and nourishing such a pernicious viper in his bosom. The news hereof coming to him, (whose candour and simplicity had rendered him secure, and unsuspecting of such perfidious dealing,) he hastened into the city, where he made an oration to the people;<sup>x</sup> whom he lets know, how great a trouble it had been to him to leave them, which yet made him return with so much the more cheerfulness and rejoicing; and having told them, how much a little absence did accent and increase mutual affection, he reflects upon the great villany of Maximus and his party, in their late transactions, describes the temper of a true Christian philosopher, and by the characters which he there lays down, weighs himself and his own life and actions. As to his being censured for his overkindness and indulgence to the man, he ingenuously pleaded for himself,<sup>y</sup> that he had been betrayed by the easiness of his temper, always apt to make the best of things, and imposed upon by subtle artifices and feigned pretences; that there could be no fence against an hypocrite, whose tongue and heart went different ways; that we judge of men merely by their words and actions, it is God only inspects the thoughts, and sees how it is within; that we are commanded to "be kind to all, especially them of the household of faith;" that if he be blameworthy for his well-meant friendship and indulgence to the man, how great a villain must the other be, that made so ill a use of it, and so perfidiously improved it to his ruin.

V. Though the minds of the people were pretty well quieted with his discourse, (whose case was rather to be pitied than blamed,) yet did they ferment into a greater rage against Maximus, who perceiving upon what uneasy and unsafe terms he stood, fled the city, and now began to think of the best ways to shore up his tottering cause. And first, if he went not in person, he wrote at least to the bishops of Italy then assembled

<sup>x</sup> Orat. xxviii. p. 472.

<sup>y</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 15. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 22.

in synod at Aquileia,<sup>2</sup> whom he certified of his ordination, and that it was ratified by the communicatory letters of Peter bishop of Alexandria, (which he sent therewith to be read in council;) that his ordination indeed had been managed in a private house, but that was because the Arians possessed all the churches, and that he was forced to give way by reason of the violence which both clergy and people had offered to him. The synod, unacquainted with the true circumstances of the case, approved his ordination and right to the place, apprehending Nazianzen to have been uncanonically promoted, as for the same reason they afterwards denied communion to Nectarius, his successor; and therefore wrote to the emperor, to beseech him to take care in it, and either to restore Maximus to the see of Constantinople, or to summon a general council at Rome, where the matter might be fully canvassed and determined. Nor did Maximus stay here, but went to solicit his cause at court, then lying at Thessalonica,<sup>3</sup> begging of the emperor, to restore him by his imperial edict. But the emperor rejected his petition, and commanded him to be gone, threatening to take a course with him, if he did not desist. The ambitious man, vexed with this repulse at court, swelled with rage and madness, and not knowing well what course to steer, went home to Alexandria, where having bribed some to be of his party, he rudely accosted the aged bishop, (who had sufficiently appeared in his behalf,) pressing him to improve his interest for the recovery of the bishopric; plainly telling him, that unless he procured him the see of Constantinople, he would eject him, and take possession of his throne: a fair warning to look about them, insomuch, that the governor of Alexandria, fearing what might be the effects of so wild an ambition, and such extravagant boldness, immediately banished him the city. And what became of him afterwards, we nowhere find.

VI. Perfect ease and tranquillity is not the portion of this world. Nazianzen, though delivered from the molestations of Maximus and his party, yet found the wind blow hard from another quarter. The Arians, notwithstanding the death of Valens, and the edict he had published for permitting the orthodox bishops to return to their sees; yet finding no restraint

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Epist. Ambr. et Epp. Ital. ad Theod. Imper. Conc. vol. iii. p. 399. ed. reg.

<sup>3</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 16. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 22.



laid upon them, still openly played their game, and offered all manner of affronts and indignities to the Catholics: insomuch, that Eusebius, the venerable bishop of Samosata, in his return from banishment, was knocked on the head at Dolicha, with a tile thrown by a woman from the top of a house, as he passed along the streets. But their great spite was at Nazianzen, whom not daring to attempt by open force, they laboured to murder his reputation; and because malice itself was not able to object any thing material, they pelted him with little trifling cavils; as that he was born in a poor and obscure place, descended of mean and ignoble parents; that he was of a rude uncourtly temper, blunt of speech, and of an austere and unpleasant conversation, as there were others that charged him with a too tame and easy disposition, that let things run which way they pleased. These were things that weighed little with wise men, but they were the best they had to object. However, not to be wanting to himself, especially at this time, he wiped off these aspersions in a public oration,<sup>b</sup> wherein he more particularly addressed himself to the Arian party. "As for the mean place of his nativity, (he tells them,<sup>c</sup>) it might be his unhappiness, but not his fault. No man accuses the dolphin that he is not a land-animal, or the ox that he does not live in the water. Must he be run down because he did not build the place of his nativity, and furnish it with such splendid ornaments of walls, theatres, circuses, palaces, porticos, forums, such a frequent populacy, and a noble senate, as they had at Constantinople? He was poor, he granted, and had no estate or revenues, kept no sumptuous table, nor wore costly garments; things which he did not think reasonable to make the matter of his glory. If he was born in an obscure corner, so was Samuel, and Saul, and David, and Moses, and other great worthies upon record in scripture. Was he a stranger and foreigner? So was Abraham; so were the apostles, when they were sent to convert the world. As for his birth and extract, they mistook the true notion of nobility; all men, with respect to this lower world, are descended of the same mean original: the true country and kindred of great and good men is the 'Jerusalem that is above;' it is the soul, polished by virtue, and reformed into the divine likeness, that challenges the true nobility; which he that de-

<sup>b</sup> Orat. xxv. p. 431.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 435, etc.



faces and defiles by sin, and superinduces the image of the serpent, that is the man that is base-born and vile; civil dignities and distinctions are but the scenes and fantastic pageantries of this frail transient life; things that may be gained by money, and lost by poverty, denied or granted at the pleasure of the prince. In these things you may pride yourselves, and boast of the stories, and the tombs, and the monuments of your ancestors; my study is to purify myself from all fraud and vice, the only way either to preserve or to regain nobility." The moroseness and rusticity which they objected, and his avoiding the pleasures and intercourses of common conversation, was not pride or an affected singularity, but a serious retiring within himself, to take the more frequent and impartial account of himself and his own actions. That they had made mildness and moderation a part of his crimes,<sup>d</sup> and had charged it upon him as a piece of madness and folly, he thanked them for it; for what was all this to what Christ had suffered? And yet his whole life and death was filled with nothing more than instances of meekness and tenderness, of mercy and forgiveness. And if he who was God, scrupled not to do, and to undergo so much, and to lay down his life for us, shall we think much to forgive a few petty injuries and offences to our fellow-creatures? And, indeed, that such had been his own carriage among them, he solemnly appeals to themselves, tacitly reproaching them with their own cruel severities. "What rabble (says he<sup>e</sup>) have I ever exasperated against them to revenge my quarrel? What soldiers have I hired? What fierce and violent commanders have I procured, as some in the world have done, and those pagans too, who by that means caused their own idolatrous impiety to triumph over the Christian faith? What miserable wretches have I besieged, while in prayer they were lifting up their hands to heaven? When did I ever drown the voice of those who were singing psalms with the noise of trumpets, or mingle the mystical blood of Christ with the blood of the slain, or stifle the tears of the penitents with the cries which slaughter and cruelty extorted from them? What churches have I turned into tombs and charnel-houses? What consecrated vessels have I delivered into impious hands, to be profaned to unholy uses? What altars have I exposed to the obscene songs and immodest gestures of

<sup>d</sup> Orat. xxv. p. 439.<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 432, etc.

wanton youth? Where, among us, has a pagan orator stepped up into the episcopal throne, and made biting invectives against Christianity? Which of us ever ravished or abused the holy virgins, or turned wild beasts upon the bodies of the saints, or indicted others for burying what the mercy of the most savage creatures had spared? Did we ever tear off the flesh of aged bishops with iron pincers, and afterwards martyr them? Or send presbyters to sea in a rotten ship, and then set it and them on fire? But what need I rub up old sores, when so many fresh instances are at hand, when men like wild boars have violently broken through all bounds and limits. Witness the yesterday's sacrifice of that Abrahamical old man, who, being newly returned from banishment, ye knocked on the head at noon-day in the middle of the streets, whose murderers yet, at our intercession, were spared and pardoned. Since I came among you, whose covetous practices have I imitated? what instances of insolent zeal have I been guilty of, and such as the times well enough would bear?<sup>f</sup> What churches or revenues have we contended with you for, though you over-abounded, and we are destitute of both? What imperial edict have we slighted, much less reviled? What governors have we courted to ruin you? Or whose cruelties have we so much as discovered? Even then I cried out with Stephen, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,' and it is still my prayer: 'Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat.' And if it be a fault, that, being cruelly treated, I patiently bear it, forgive me this wrong; it is but what I have been used to."

VII. The truth is, so great was his clemency and indulgence, that the Catholics themselves began to complain of it, that they had suffered the hardest things,<sup>g</sup> and yet he, all the time he had been their bishop, had taken no care to remedy it, nor to improve his power with great men, and his interest at court, to put a stop to it, or to return it upon the heads of their enemies. And, what was yet worse than complaints, by the insinuations of the presbyter that had combined with Maximus, some of the catholic party were really made against him. So that, oppressed with these and other troubles that daily grew upon him, he took up a resolution to leave the charge<sup>h</sup> he had there taken upon

<sup>f</sup> Orat. xxv. p. 439.

<sup>g</sup> Orat. xxxii. p. 525.

<sup>h</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 17, 18, etc. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 23.

him, and in the close of his farewell discourse affectionately persuaded the people to persevere in that orthodox faith that he had preached to them, and to be mindful of the labours and sufferings which he had undergone for that cause among them. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, but the whole auditory were surprised with equal resentment and admiration; and persons of all ages, sexes, and qualities came about him, and passionately besought him not to desert his flock, and thereby betray them to the wolves, who with open mouth stood ready to devour them. The good man was miserably distracted with the tears and entreaties of his people, and knew not well either how to grant or to deny their importunities. The day was well-nigh spent in these kind contentions, when the people solemnly protested, that not one of them would stir out of the church, but were resolved to die upon the spot, unless he granted their desires; one of the company telling him openly, (which was no small motive to prevail with him,) "Sir, with your departure you banish the catholic faith out of this city." Overcome with importunity, he consented to stay with them until (which was rumoured and expected) the Eastern prelates were summoned to town, who might release him by choosing a more worthy person into that place: and with that the people rested satisfied: and in this condition things stood till the new emperor's arrival at Constantinople.

VIII. Theodosius being lately assumed into a partnership of the empire, was come into Greece in order to his wars with the northern nations. At Thessalonica he fell sick, and sent for Acholius, bishop of that see, in order to his being baptized;<sup>i</sup> of whom he inquired, what faith it was that he professed? The bishop told him, they entirely preserved the faith delivered by the apostles, and confirmed by the council of Nice; and that the Arian impieties did not infect those parts. Whereupon he received from his hands the holy rites. For indeed he was a great patron of the catholic cause, and a passionate admirer both of the peace and purity of the church. In order whereunto he directed an edict to the people of Constantinople,<sup>k</sup> dated Feb. 27, anno 380, commanding that all his subjects within his dominions should hold no other but the right orthodox faith concerning the Holy Trinity, according as it was professed and taught in

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. i. l. 2. Sozom. l. vii. c. 4.



the churches of Rome and Alexandria; and that all such professors should be styled Catholic Christians, and all others called and accounted heretics; and that their conventicles should not be honoured with the title of churches, and they themselves become liable to civil as well as divine punishments. Towards the latter end of this year, viz. on the 24th of November, he came to Constantinople, and finding that to be the common nest and refuge of the several heretical parties, published another edict on the 10th of January,<sup>1</sup> which being so great an evidence of this emperor's piety and zeal for the church, will deserve the reader's perusal.

“Theodosius, Gratian, and Valentinian, Emperors, to Eutropius the Prætorian Prefect.

“Let no place be allowed to heretics for the holding their religious assemblies, no occasion permitted for the exercising of their madness and obstinacy. Be it known to all, that although this sort of men may have fraudulently procured some special rescript in their favour, such rescript shall be of no force. Let all such heretical assemblies be prohibited and dispersed. Let the name of the one only and most high God be celebrated in all places; and the Nicene faith, delivered long since by our ancestors, and confirmed by the testimony and assertion of our divine religion, be had in perpetual observance: let the defilement of the Photinian blemish, the venom of the Arian sacrilegiousness, the falsehood and perfidiousness of Eunomius, and the abominable prodigies of sects, together with the monstrous names of their authors, be banished even from common hearing. But he only is to be accounted an assertor of the Nicene faith, and a true professor of catholic religion, who confesses God Almighty, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, one in name, God of God, Light of Light, who does not by any denial [of his divinity] offer violence to the Holy Spirit, by whom we receive what we hope for from the hands of our heavenly Father; and who, according to the tenor of the sound and orthodox faith, maintains the undivided substance of the most perfect Trinity, which by a Greek term right believers call *οὐσία*. These are the doctrines which we approve, and which are to be entertained with veneration. Whoever adhere not to these, let them cease by crafty

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 6.



affectations to entitle themselves to the name of the true religion, a name that belongs not to them, and let them be publicly known by their own infamous appellations; and since we prohibit all sorts of heretics to hold their unlawful assemblies within towns or cities, let them be utterly removed out of all churches. And if hereupon the faction shall forcibly attempt any thing, we command that with all rigour they be banished out of all cities, that so the catholic churches throughout the world may be restored to all orthodox bishops that hold the Nicene faith. Given at Constantinople, the 4th of the Ides of January, Eucherius and Syagrius being consuls." That is, January the 10th, anno 381.

A learned commentator upon this law,<sup>m</sup> thinks the date of the month mistaken for June or July, and that it was published about the latter end of the council holden here this year, in confirmation of the faith agreed upon in that synod. But there is no reason to suspect the date, which is the same both in this and the Justinian code; and whereas he observes a great conformity both of words and things in it, with the creed and first canon of that council, it cannot be doubted, but that, in drawing it up, he consulted with Nazianzen, and perhaps some other catholic bishops, who directed both phrase and matter to the sense of the church, and to the necessities of that time, and which, it is like, were imitated and made use of by the fathers of that venerable synod, who met some months after. But however that was, the emperor, at his first arrival, in pursuance of the design which he had some time before taken up of rooting out heresy, and resettling the peace of the church, sent to Demophilus,<sup>n</sup> the Arian bishop of Constantinople, commanding him either to subscribe the Nicene creed, and reduce the people to unity and concord, or to quit the churches, and depart the city. Demophilus, knowing it was to no purpose for him to contend, assembled the people, and acquainted them with the emperor's order. "Brethren, (said he,) it is written in the gospel, 'if they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another;' since then the emperor drives us out of our churches, take notice that tomorrow we will hold our assemblies without the city." And with that he departed out of the city, and with him Lucius, whom, upon Athanasius's death, the Arians had made bishop of

<sup>m</sup> Jac. Gothofred. in loc.

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 7. Sozom. l. vii. c. 5.

Alexandria, who at this time lived here in banishment. Thus were the Arians dispossessed of their churches at Constantinople, after that they had held them (ever since Eusebius of Nicomedia was translated to that see, anno 339) for forty years together. Theodosius having made his entry, presently called for Nazianzen, whom he treated with great kindness and humanity,<sup>o</sup> and among other things told him, that God had sent him to give him possession of the church, which he was ready to deliver up into his hands, as the reward of his labours. But the Arians, however pretending to submission, were yet resolved not so tamely to part with their hold. They filled all places with peevish and passionate complaints; the emperor they plied with petitions; as on the other hand they vomited out nothing but exclamations and threatenings against Nazianzen and his party, and to make good their words, had prepared an armed multitude to make resistance. So that the next day, which was to be the solemnity of the instalment, the emperor was forced, with a strong military guard, to conduct the poor bishop through the streets, which were not only beset with enemies, designed either by public tumults or private assassinations to do mischief, but crowded with multitudes of spectators on every side. As they passed along to the church, a black cloud suddenly arose, which wrapped them up all in darkness, and threatened them instantly with a most dreadful storm. This the Arians presently caught hold of, and cried out, it was a miraculous testimony from heaven against the proceedings of that day, and indeed it struck no little damp and terror into the Catholics. But no sooner were they got within the church, and the emperor and the bishop entered into the choir, and an hymn begun to the praise of the great Creator, but in a moment the cloud dissipated, and the sun burst out with so amazing a brightness, that few were able to behold it; which greatly animated the catholic, and confused the foolish and presumptuous presages of the Arian party. And now the cry was from all parts of the church, and from all sorts of persons, beseeching the emperor, as the greatest kindness he could do the city, to place Nazianzen on the episcopal throne. The good man, partly through weakness and infirmity, and partly through affrightment, (a desperate fellow having drawn his sword at him, though immediately forced to put it up again,) was not able, as

<sup>o</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 20, 21, etc. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 26.

at other times, to make an oration to the people, and therefore commanded one of the presbyters to stand up, and modestly acquaint them, in his name, that he desired them to surcease their suit; that this was a day of thanksgiving, and to be entirely devoted to the praise of that God who had heaped such blessings upon them, and that what was of further concernment should be transacted in due time and place.

IX. The modesty of the answer was not unacceptable, and so the assembly broke up, and the man became equally dear to the people and the prince, who mightily delighted in his conversation, and (as Nazianzen intimates<sup>p</sup>) sometimes placed him at his own table, who yet seldom cared to come to court; the manners of that place not suiting with the strictness and severity of his temper, which knew not how either to bribe or flatter, or to make use of those little arts that render men grateful to courtiers. He spent his time in prayer and fasting, in preaching and visiting the sick, retiring sometimes out of the city, partly to repair his health, and partly to enjoy the advantages of solitude. The revenues of his church, though very large, he never meddled with; and albeit he had fair opportunities thence to have enriched himself, he took not one penny of it to increase his private estate, but committed the management of it wholly to the stewards and treasurers of the church, not so much as taking an account of the plate that belonged to it. His thoughts were employed about higher and better things, and his time and strength so entirely swallowed up with the cares and troubles of his charge, that his body could bear up no longer. Sickness confined him to his bed, and that presented him with an opportunity of exercising an instance of the greatest charity. It happened that great numbers of people, highly satisfied with what had lately passed, crowded into his room, to pay in his presence their acknowledgments to Almighty God for so great mercies, and to pray for the health and prosperity of the emperor, and withal to pay their thanks to him, whom they owned to have been the instrument that procured these blessings; which done, they departed. The rest being gone, there stayed behind a young man with a pale look, long hair, in squalid and tattered clothes, who, standing at the bed's feet, made all the dumb signs of the bitterest sorrow and lamentation. Nazianzen,



startled a little at the man and his behaviour, asked him who he was, whence he came, and what he wanted? To which he returned no answer, but expressed so much the greater passion and resentment, howling, wringing his hands, and beating his breast, insomuch that the bishop himself was moved to tears. Being at length plucked from that place by force, one who stood by told the bishop: "This, sir, is the assassin, whom some had suborned to murder you, and had effectually done it, had not the Divine Providence interposed to hinder him; for this his conscience has fallen foul upon him, and he is here come ingenuously to confess his fault, and to beg your pardon." Whereto the good bishop replied, "Friend, God Almighty be propitious to you, his gracious preservation of me obliges me freely to forgive you; the desperate attempt you designed has made you mine; nor do I require any other reparation, than that henceforth you desert your party, and sincerely give up yourself to God." The news of this accident being spread abroad, mightily advanced his reputation, and rendered him dearer to the city than he was before.

## SECTION V.

### THE ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL.

A general council summoned to meet at Constantinople. The number of fathers in that synod. Things transacted in the council. Their care about the see of Constantinople. Maximus's title and ordination vacated. Nazianzen established in that see. The regularity of his translation thither, cleared. Matters of faith discussed. The Nicene confession ratified. A creed drawn up to explain the other. The *FILIOQUE*, when added to this creed. The controversy hereabout between the Greek and the Latin church. An account of the several sects and heresies anathematized by the synod. The Sabellians. Sabellius, who, and what his principles. Marcellians: the author and tenets of that sect. Photinians. Photinus, who, and what his chief *dogmata*. Eunomians. This sect founded by Aetius. A short view of his life and actions. His designs carried on by his disciple Eunomius: the most material passages of whose life are briefly noted. The opinions, principles, and usages of this sect: not accounted Christians by the synod. Macedonians. The council principally called with respect to them. A more particular account concerning Macedonius, and the original and progress of this heresy through the reigns of the several emperors. His followers the same in effect with the Semi-Arians. In what places they most abounded. Their cunning deportment, and hypocritical insinuations. Treated with by the synod about their reunion to the church; but without effect. The synodal decree against heretics ratified by the emperor. Canons made by this council. Two more particularly noted; one, concerning the bounds of the greater churches in the East. This heedlessly con-



founded by most with a law of the emperor Theodosius, concerning the bounds of ecclesiastical communion. What Socrates means by Patriarchs, constituted in this council. The other canon giving precedence to the see of Constantinople, next that of Rome. This the foundation of the after-greatness of that bishopric. The fuller consideration of this referred to another place.

THEODOSIUS being highly solicitous about the peace of the church, at this time torn in pieces with so many several sects and parties, had some time since given hopes of convening a synod to heal those breaches. This he now made good,<sup>a</sup> and to that end writs are issued out to summon the prelates of the East, who met at Constantinople in May, Ann. Chr. 381, to the number of one hundred and fifty, all Catholics, besides thirty-six of the Macedonian party, who were summoned also in hopes of union. And though they were only the bishops of the Eastern empire that assembled in this synod, yet has the council passed the approbation of the catholic church, and in all ages obtained the style, honour, and authority of a general council. The things transacted in the synod may be reduced to three heads: the present case of the see at Constantinople, matters of faith, and rules concerning order and the polity of the church. The first thing they took in hand, was to settle the present state of the see of Constantinople, distracted at this time between Gregory Nazianzen, the present occupant, and Maximus, the philosopher, who challenged it as his right. The cause being fully heard and debated, the fathers proceeded to give sentence in the case, and unanimously damned not only Maximus's claim, but his very ordination, by this synodal decree.<sup>r</sup>

“Concerning Maximus the Cynic, and his insolence and irregularity committed at Constantinople, the synod has decreed, that Maximus neither is, nor ever was a bishop, nor any of those truly ordained whom he advanced to any order of the clergy; and that whatever was done in his ordination, or has been since done by him, is null and void.”

Having thus vacated his title, they next confirmed Nazianzen in the see,<sup>s</sup> placing him upon the episcopal throne; which though with tears and passionate entreaties he endeavoured to decline, yet was he at last prevailed with to accept, upon this consideration, that he should hereby have a fairer opportunity to reconcile

<sup>a</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Conc. Constantinop. Can. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 24. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 29. Vid. p. 27.

and unite dissenting parties, a thing which above all others he did most desire. It was indeed objected against him by some, that he had been bishop of Sasima and Nazianzum, and that translations of bishops from one see to another were prohibited by the ecclesiastic laws, as indeed the fifteenth canon of Nice is express in that case. But to this, Meletius, the aged and venerable bishop of Antioch, replied,<sup>t</sup> that he very well understood the mind of those that made that canon, which was designed only to prevent pride and ambition, which had no place in this case. Besides, custom had made nothing more familiar than such translations, and therefore Nazianzen styles those canons *νόμους τοὺς πάλαι τεθνηκότας*,<sup>u</sup> “laws dead a great while since,” common practice and the conveniency of the church having rendered them obsolete and out of use; and though they should still retain their force and vigour, yet they reached not him, who had never been bishop of Nazianzum, but only coadjutor to his father in that church; and for Sasima, though unwillingly ordained to it, he had never come near it, nor exercised one ministerial act in it.

II. This affair being over, they next entered upon the discussing matters of faith. And first they ratified the Nicene creed,<sup>w</sup> which they commanded to be kept inviolate. But because in that the article concerning the Holy Ghost was but barely mentioned, which was now become one of the prime controversies of the age, and for the determination whereof the council had been principally summoned, it pleased the fathers to draw up an explanatory creed, (composed, we are told,<sup>x</sup> by Gregory Nyssen,) which they published in this ensuing form.<sup>y</sup>

“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds; Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered, and was buried, and the third day he rose again according to the

<sup>t</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 8.

<sup>u</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 29.

<sup>w</sup> Can. l.

<sup>x</sup> Niceph. l. xii. c. 13. in fin.

<sup>y</sup> Ext. in Conc. Chalced. Act. ii.

scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end. We believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. We believe one holy catholic and apostolic church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

The reader will easily observe that this is one of the three famous creeds which our church has adopted into her solemn liturgy, and which commonly passes under the name of the Nicene creed at this day. Whenas it is plain, it is not the Nicene creed, (which we have represented in another place,) but an explanation of it, especially in the article about the Holy Ghost, and was composed (as the council of Chalcedon assures us) by this synod at Constantinople: though it be no new thing for this creed to pass under the name of that of Nice, P. Lombard and others speaking of it under that title.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious, likewise, that herein is wanting, what our creed asserts concerning the Holy Ghost's proceeding both from the Father AND THE SON, this being added afterwards. The precise time when this so much controverted addition was made, is not easy to be adjusted. In a provincial synod (whether the eighth or tenth it matters not) holden at Toledo, anno 653, we find the creed with this addition set down in the first canon of that council.<sup>a</sup> But this was only the particular act of that synod, nor did the creed, thus enlarged, generally obtain in the Spanish churches for a long time after. About the beginning of the next age but one, the question about the procession being started by one John a monk of Jerusalem,<sup>b</sup> began to be disputed in France, and a synod about this matter convened at Aix, anno 809, by which several bishops were despatched to Rome,<sup>c</sup> to treat with pope Leo the Third, about this controversy, who earnestly pressed him that the addition of *Filioque* might be inserted into the creed. After

<sup>2</sup> Lib. i. Distinct. xi. Durand. Ration. l. iv. c. 25. n. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Conc. vol. xv. p. 305. ed. reg.

<sup>b</sup> Annal. incert. Auct. a Pith. ed. p. 20. vit. Car. M. per Monach. Egoism. ib. p. 274.

<sup>c</sup> Ext. Relat. ap. Baron. ad Ann. 809. n. 68.



long debate, the pope declared he liked the doctrine well enough, but could not allow that the thing should be added to the creed; nay, to prevent all mistake or fraud, he caused the creed without that addition to be engraven both in Greek and Latin upon two silver tables, and to be hung up behind St. Peter's altar, there to remain as a standing monument. About four years after this, the fathers in the synod at Arles<sup>d</sup> published a confession of their faith with this clause, "proceeding from the Father and the Son:" which yet was no more than their private confession. It seems not to have gained any public place in the creed, till the time of pope Nicolaus the First, who entered upon that see anno 858; and to have been discovered when the quarrel broke out between him and Photius, patriarch of Constantinople. For so we find Photius severely charging it upon the Latins,<sup>e</sup> as *κακῶν κόρωνις*, "the height and crown of all their impieties;" that with an unmeasurable boldness they had taken upon them to adulterate the holy creed, ratified by the decrees of general councils, *νόθοις λογισμοῖς, καὶ παρεγγράπτοις λόγοις*, "with false senses, and new invented terms:" *ὦ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ μηχανημάτων*, "Oh, the inventions of the Devil:" and then tells us what he meant by all this, that these addition-makers made the Holy Ghost to proceed not only from the Father, but from the Son also: and so goes on to exclaim against the fact, and to argue against the doctrine. And this he speaks of as newly done, and brought by some Western bishops, (whom, amongst other hard words, he calls the new fore-runners and ministers of the anti-christian apostacy,) who had been sent to scatter this and some other doctrines among the Bulgarians, but two years before converted to the faith of Christ. And henceforward, the difference between the Greeks and Latins widened every day; the thing being so much resented by the Eastern churches, that they thereupon broke off communion with the Western, and it became one of the unhappy occasions of continuing the breach to this day. I cannot pass by the uncharitable censures of the writers of the Roman church,<sup>f</sup> who say, that for their obstinate refusal to comply with this addition, God presently after suffered them, their churches, wives, chil-

<sup>d</sup> Conc. vol. xx. p. 331. ed. reg.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. Encycl. (N. 11.) ad Orient. Patriarch.

<sup>f</sup> Bellarm. de Christ. l. ii. c. 30. et in Chronol. ad calc. lib. de Script. eccles. Grets. Defens. Bell. aliique plures.



dren, and estates, to fall under the miserable slavery of the Turkish yoke, and at last Constantinople (the seat of this church and empire) to be taken by Mahomet the Second, on the very festival of Whitsuntide, the time peculiarly dedicated to the honour of the Holy Ghost. So partial are men to their own cause, so ready to make heaven look asquint upon their enemies, and the actions of Divine Providence minister to the designs of their own spite and malice.

III. The fathers, according to the custom used in synods, proceeded next to the anathematisms,<sup>g</sup> in general condemning all heresies contrary to the Nicene faith, but more especially the Sabellian, Marcellian, Photinian, Eunomian, Apollinarian, and Macedonian heresies; concerning each of which we shall give some short account, as what will reflect no small light upon the story of those times. The Sabellian was set on foot by Sabellius a Libyan,<sup>h</sup> bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, who began to broach it about the declining part of the foregoing *seculum*, under the reign of the emperor Gallienus. He had been scholar to Noetus of Ephesus, from whom he sucked the main ingredients of his poisonous principles, which having digested, he vomited up in these impious assertions, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are but one and the same person, distinguished only by three several names; as in man there is body, soul, and spirit: the Father answerable to the body, the Son to the soul, and the Holy Ghost to the spirit: or as the sun, which is but one, but has three powers, light, heat, and its circular form; the Father the subsisting form, the Holy Ghost the heat, and the Son the light; who, as a beam, was in time shed upon the world, by whom all things were wrought, and then again taken up into heaven, as a beam into the body of the sun: that by virtue of this oneness of persons, the Father might be said to suffer, whence they are sometimes styled Patripassians, though that was a name of some more ancient heretics, that commenced with the very apostolic age. Besides the scriptures, they traded much in apocryphal writings, especially a book which they called the Egyptian gospel, out of which they borrowed much of their mystical nonsense and blasphemy. Marcellus (who is next) was

<sup>g</sup> Can. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Epiph. Hæres. lxii. c. 1. Theod. fab. l. ii. c. 9. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 6. August. de Hæres. c. 41. vol. viii. p. 11.

bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, concerning whom and the rise of his *dogmata*, we have elsewhere given an account.<sup>i</sup> The main point of his heresy lay in this:<sup>j</sup> that Christ began to be the Son of God at his incarnation; that his kingdom shall continue till the day of judgment and the end of the world, and then cease; and the Word that came forth be again resolved into the Father, and be no more. And in opposition to this, the council particularly levelled that clause in the creed, “whose kingdom shall have no end.” Nicetas Choniates explains his opinions thus:<sup>k</sup> that the Son was a kind of branch springing forth from the Father, and this he called *ἐκτασις*, or the extension of the Father’s divinity into the Son, whom he styled God the Word, which after the consummation of all things should be drawn back again into the Father out of whom it had shot forth. The Holy Ghost he styled *παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως*, “the extension of the extension,” which came upon the apostles: in fine, that the Holy Trinity was extended or contracted according to the difference of the dispensation. Disciple to Marcellus was Photinus, born at Sirmium, and afterwards advanced to be bishop of that see: a man of acute parts, and a voluble tongue; he trod in part in his master’s steps, and revived the long-since condemned errors of Paulus Samosetanus, confounding the Holy Trinity, and denying our Lord’s eternal existence; he affirmed the Word to be not essential, but prolatitious, and that God made use of it in the production of things, *ὡς ὄργανόν τι μηχανικόν*,<sup>l</sup> “as a kind of mechanic instrument:” that Christ that received this Word was but a mere man, and received the beginning of his existence from the Virgin Mary. For these blasphemous opinions he was often sentenced and deposed; and died about the year 375.

IV. The next that follows in the list of the council is the Eunomian heresy. The first author and founder of this sect was Aetius.<sup>m</sup> He was born at Antioch in Cœlosyria, and being left poor by his father, who was a soldier, maintained himself

<sup>i</sup> Life of Euseb. §. xix. p. 128, 129.

<sup>j</sup> Vid. Epist. Orient. apud Socrat. l. ii. c. 19. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. xv. s. 14. Euseb. contr. Marcell. l. i. p. 6. Theod. Hær. fab. l. ii. c. 10.

<sup>k</sup> Thes. Orth. fid. l. iv. Hæres. 29.

<sup>l</sup> Bals. in Can. l. Conc. C. P.

<sup>m</sup> Philost. l. iii. c. 15. 17. l. v. c. 1, 2. l. vi. c. 7. l. vii. c. 6. l. viii. c. 4. l. ix. c. 6. Nicet. Thes. Orth. Fid. l. v. c. 30.

and his mother at the goldsmith's trade: but having a genius for higher things, he applied himself to the study of philosophy, and especially logic, wherein he became excellent. Divinity he studied first under Paulinus bishop of Antioch, then under Athanasius of Anazarbus, next under Antonius at Tarsus, then lastly under Leontius a presbyter of Antioch. Being expelled Antioch, he fled to Alexandria, where, under Sopolis, a famous doctor, he studied physic, which he practised gratis, maintaining himself in the mean time by working at night at his goldsmith's trade. He was made deacon by Leontius of Antioch; and for his heterodox notions, especially in asserting the Anomæan doctrine, deposed by the synod at Constantinople, and banished by Constantius, anno 360; recalled, honoured, and rewarded by Julian, and made bishop during his reign. Under Valens he left Constantinople, and sailed to Lesbos; and at Mitylene settled himself in a farm, which Julian had bestowed upon him. But upon Procopius's usurping the empire, he was forced to return to Constantinople, where he died (as is probable) the year after. Scholar and amanuensis to him was Eunomius, who became more famous than his master, and from him the sect took its denomination. He was born at Dacora,<sup>a</sup> a small village near Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Awakened with the fame of Aetius, he went to Antioch, where, by the means of Secundus, a Libyan bishop, he was recommended to Aetius, then at Alexandria, who took him into his family, read lectures to him, and made him his secretary. Having sufficiently furnished himself with his master's instructions, he was made deacon by Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch; and being sent to court to solicit the cause of his party, was intercepted by means of Basil of Ancyra, and banished to Midaium, a town in Phrygia. For the main he ran the same fortune with his master, and was banished with him by the synod at Constantinople. He was by Eudoxius ordained bishop of Cyzicum, which he would not accept of, till Eudoxius had sworn to him, to recall the sentence of deposition passed against Aetius. Nor did he continue long at his see, the people there not enduring his impious doctrine. In the reign of Valens, the party at Constantinople falling out, he went over to Chalcedon, where he had gardens of his own, and there settled, entertaining all that came to him, being upon all occasions consulted as the oracle of his

<sup>a</sup> Philost. l. x. c. 6. l. iii. c. 20. l. iv. c. 5. l. v. c. 3. l. ix. c. 4. l. x. c. 6. l. xi. c. 5.



sect : upon a charge of high-treason, in being privy to Procopius's usurpation, he was banished into Mauritania, but was recalled at Marsa in Illyricum. By Theodosius (into whose family some of his gang had crept, whereat that good emperor was highly offended) he was banished to Halmyris, a place situate upon the banks of the Danube, which being soon after taken by the Barbarians, he was transported to Cæsarea in Cappadocia. But his company was distasteful to that people, his lewd principles being known ; and he having writ against, and reflected upon their beloved bishop St. Basil, for whom they had a dear regard. So he was suffered to dwell at his own estate at Dacora, not far from that city, where he lived some years, dying about anno 394 ; whose body, when his followers would have removed, to have buried it with his master Aetius at Constantinople, Eutropius the eunuch, at that time *patricius* and lord chamberlain, would not suffer it, but commanded Cæsarius, the prætorian prefect, to translate and bury it at Tyana, and commit the guardianship of it to the monks of that place. He procured likewise an edict for the burning of his books, and all those of his party, as containing the sum of all impious doctrine, making it capital for any to conceal them. Such were the men, that appeared in the head of the most spiteful and inveterate enemies to the divinity of the Son of God. As to the principles which Eunomius derived from Aetius, and afterwards improved, we may in the general observe, that he corrupted the Arian *dogmata*, (poison itself may be made worse,) which he advanced to a pitch beyond any other branch that sprang from that bitter root, so that at last his followers refused to admit the Arian baptism and ordination ; in particular, he held that the Son was made by the Father,<sup>o</sup> and was to be placed only in the most eminent rank of creatures ; that he was a servant, and obnoxious to change and alteration, and altogether unlike in nature and substance to the Father ; and that as the Son is the servant and minister of the Father, so is the Spirit the work and minister of the Son. And though in the account of his faith,<sup>p</sup> which he presented to the emperor Theodosius, he endeavours to smooth over his opinions, and to conceal them under odd expressions, (confessing that the

<sup>o</sup> Theodor. l. iv. c. 3. Bals. et Zonar. in Can. l. Conc. C. P. Philost. l. vi. c. 2. Sozom. l. vi. c. 26.

<sup>p</sup> Ext. ap. Vales. Annot. in Socrat. p. 61. Vid. Socrat. l. v. c. 10.



Son is only like the Father after an extraordinary manner of similitude, and in a proper and peculiar signification; that is, as he explains himself, as he is the image and seal of his Father's power and operation, the seal of all his words and counsels,) yet does he therein expressly assert, that he is οὐκ ἀκτιστός καὶ ἄναρχος, not uncreated, nor without beginning, but that he is the beginning of the ways and works of God; that he received glory from the Father, but did not partake or share with him in his essence, kingdom, and glory; and that the Father alone is God over all. Besides all this, he is charged with asserting,<sup>a</sup> that Joseph did in a conjugal way correspond with the blessed Virgin after her being delivered of our Saviour; which indeed was the peculiar tenet of the Antidicomarianitæ in the Eastern, as it was of the Helvidians in the Western church. He is further said by the Greek canonists to have denied that there was really any such place as hell, or the torments of the damned; and affirmed, that these were only fables invented to fright the world. But this, I must confess, is not charged upon him by any author of his own time. In opposition to other sects that dissented from him, he baptized those whom he proselyted to his party in a way by himself, using only single immersion, (because, he said, he baptized into Christ's death, which he underwent for us, not twice or thrice, but once only,) and turning the heads of the persons to the bottom of the water, with their heels mounted up into the air. Whether he borrowed any of his principles from Eudoxius, who was successively bishop of Germanicia, Antioch, and Constantinople, and by whom he had been preferred to the see of Cyzicum, or whether Eudoxius learnt them of him, is uncertain; it is evident, that in the main they held the same opinions, and therefore the council here condemns them as the same sort of heretics, under the title of Eunomians or Eudoxians; and indeed looked upon them as such deep-dyed heretics, as wholly to have forfeited the name of Christians: and therefore, whereas in their last canon they allow other heretics to come over to the catholic party upon their bare subscription, and renunciation of all kind of heresy, and confirmation by unction, the Eunomians, with some few others, are to be treated as Pagans, and not to be admitted to baptism, but by the same

<sup>a</sup> Philost. loc. cit.

methods and degrees that catechumens were, who first came over from Gentilism to Christianity.

V. The fifth rank of heretics are the Apollinarists: they were the followers of Apollinaris, sometime bishop of Laodicea: a man (as we observed before) of incomparable parts and learning, but rash and opinionative, and who, by being unduly excommunicated, was first tempted to start aside from the catholic faith. His master-error was,<sup>r</sup> that our Lord assumed a body without a human soul, his divinity immediately supplying the room of that; which he afterwards mollified, by granting that he had a soul, but without any mind or understanding. But what were his opinions, none can tell us better than Nazianzen, who in an oration, or rather letter, to Nectarius's successor in the see of Constantinople,<sup>s</sup> out of a book of Apollinaris, gives him this account: that he affirmed, that the flesh which the Son of God took upon him to carry through the work of our restoration, was not ascititious, but what he had from the beginning, which he thought warranted from that of our Saviour, "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven:" whence he inferred, that he was the Son of man before his coming down from heaven, and that when he came, he brought his flesh along with him, which he had in heaven, essentially united to him before all time: that in this sense he was "the second man that is from heaven;" and that in that capacity, τὸν νοῦν μὴ ἔχειν, "he had no mind," but that his deity supplied the place of his understanding; that in his humanity he had both soul and body, but that the mind was supplied by the divinity of the Word; that beyond all this he maintained, that God the only begotten Son, who is Lord of life, and the destroyer of death, was himself mortal, and truly suffered in his godhead; and that during his three days' continuance in the state of the dead, his divinity died also with his body, and was by the Father restored to life again. These were some of his monstrous and extravagant opinions, which our learned bishop does at large confute, with all his arguments and objections, in his two epistles to Cledonius,<sup>t</sup> written about this very time, while he was yet bishop of Con-

<sup>r</sup> Rufin. l. ii. c. 20.

<sup>s</sup> Orat. xlv. p. 721. Vid. Orat. xiv. p. 221.

<sup>t</sup> Orat. li. p. 737. lii. p. 745.

stantinople. There remains now but one sort of heretics censured by the council, viz. that of the Macedonians, whom the canon calls *Pneumatomachi*, or opposers of the Holy Spirit. Now because the synod was principally convened with respect to these, (as is affirmed on all hands,<sup>u</sup>) I shall a little more particularly inquire into the rise and original of this sect.

VI. When the Arian notions began first to prevail in the world, they were chiefly levelled against the divinity of the Son of God, he being the only person that was struck at. And therefore in the Nicene creed, though all imaginable care was taken to secure the article of his Deity, by stating it in such terms as might countermine all the subtleties and sophistical evasions of its adversaries, yet is no more said in it concerning the Spirit, than “we believe in the Holy Ghost;” no doubt being as yet started concerning that matter.<sup>x</sup> But afterwards, when the Arian party began to subdivide, and break into different tribes, and one error, like circles in the water, begat another, every bold fellow set up to be the head of a party, and started some new notion, as the distinctive character of his little sect. And having wire-drawn the article concerning the Son of God into infinite controversies and disputes, they fell next upon that of the Holy Ghost, whose divinity was first questioned, then denied, at last he was quite banished out of the Trinity, and peremptorily affirmed to be no other than a creature. The first that openly broached and asserted this opinion was Macedonius: he had been deacon under Alexander, the reverend bishop of Byzantium,<sup>y</sup> (soon after called Constantinople,) who upon his death-bed nominated two competitors for the place: Paul, young, but wise and prudent; and Macedonius, aged, but crafty, and of an affected gravity. Paul was chosen, and under him Macedonius commenced presbyter; who took in with the Arians. Upon Paul’s banishment, Eusebius of Nicomedia was translated thither, upon whose decease Paul was fetched back,<sup>z</sup> while the Arians ordained Macedonius for their bishop; which was managed with so much fury and disorder, that Hermogenes, commander of the army, was among others slain in the tumult:

<sup>u</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 7. Phot. de Synod. Nilus lib. de Synod. etc. Bals. et Zonar. in Conc. C. P.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Epiph. Hæres. lxxiv. c. 14. Zonar. Annal. l. xiii. c. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Id. ibid. c. 12, 13.



whereupon Paul was again banished, and the emperor refused to confirm Macedonius; who yet not long after sent Philip the prætorian prefect to remove Paul, (who was, it seems, returned to his see,) and to invest Macedonius in the episcopal throne:<sup>d</sup> which he did accordingly, but with a very unhappy accident. For the soldiers meeting with an extreme crowd, in a place where there was no room left to make way, and taking it for a premeditated resistance and opposition, fell violently upon the people, three thousand one hundred and fifty whereof were killed; either slain outright by the soldiers, or trampled to death with the crowd. About the time of the Sardican council, Paul was restored,<sup>e</sup> (the necessity of Constantius's affairs then requiring it,) and Macedonius forced to keep his party together in an obscure private church. But this held not long, for Paul being despatched out of the way, transported to, and strangled at Cucusus in Armenia, Macedonius presently leaped into the chair; and being now rid of his competitor,<sup>f</sup> shewed himself what he was, prosecuting all that dissented from him with the most incredible cruelty, instances whereof are too many and too tragical to be here related. This course he held till the latter end of the reign of Constantius, when in the synod at Constantinople, immediately following that of Seleucia, he was by the prevalency of Acacius and his party at court (besides that the emperor hated him for his cruelties, and some other misdemeanours) deposed,<sup>g</sup> and Eudoxius translated from Antioch to that see. Enraged with this affront, he began more openly to declare his sentiments than he had done before. He had hitherto gone along with the deepest of the Arian faction,<sup>h</sup> who held the dissimilitude opinion; these he now deserted, and closed with the most moderate party, who asserted the *ὁμοιούσιον*, or that the Son was in all things of a "like substance" with the Father. As for the Holy Ghost, he plainly denied it to have the same honour and privilege; affirming it to be but a servant and minister, only a little more exalted than the angelical order. In defending and propagating these principles, his chief agents and assistants were Eustathius bishop of Sebastea, (who publicly cried out, that for his part he would not call the Holy Ghost either a God or a creature,) Eleusius of Cyzicum, and Marathonius, who of a treasurer to the army (where he had

<sup>d</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 16.<sup>e</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 23.<sup>f</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 27. et 38.<sup>g</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 42.<sup>h</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 45. Sozom. l. iv. c. 27.



sufficiently enriched himself) had been made by him presbyter of Constantinople, and afterwards bishop of Nicomedia; a man so privy to all his inward counsels, that he was said by some to have been the first contriver of his opinions touching the Holy Ghost. By the help of these and some others, he held several synods of his party under the reign of Julian,<sup>i</sup> wherein he endeavoured to draw his followers into a more close and distinct body, separate from all the other clans of the Arian tribe; particularly they anathematized the Acacians, rejecting the confession of Ariminum, and ratifying that which had been agreed upon in the synod of Seleucia. And when asked why, if they differed in opinion from the Acacians, they had hitherto communicated with them? Sophronius, bishop of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, answered in the name of the rest, that among the several dissenting parties in Christendom, they of the West were overrun with the consubstantial error; in the East, Aetius had corrupted the faith, by introducing the Anomæan doctrine, of the Son's being of an unlike nature with the Father. Both opinions were erroneous and impious; the one rashly confounded the distinct persons of Father and Son; the other separated their nature quite from each other. These were wide extremes, and therefore they judged it most agreeable both to truth and piety, to take the middle way between both, and to assert the Son to be like the Father, *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, "in person;" and that therefore it was no wonder, if they had communicated with the Acacians, who had sometimes held the same thing. Some years after, viz. anno 365, they procured leave from the emperor Valens to hold a synod at Lampsacum in the Hellespont,<sup>k</sup> where they again condemned the Ariminum confession, and confirmed that of Antioch and Seleucia, and restored those bishops to their sees who had been deposed by them of the dissimilitude faction. Eudoxius bishop of Constantinople was sufficiently nettled at these proceedings, and complained of them to the emperor: but he being entangled at that time with the rebellion and usurpation of Procopius, was not at leisure to assist him; till shortly after having suppressed that dangerous rebellion, he sent for Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum, who had been the prime dictator of the Macedonian party in the council of Lampsacum, to come to him to Nicomedia, where he had assembled a synod of Arian

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. l. iii. c. 10.<sup>k</sup> Socrat. l. iv. c. 2. 4, 5, 6, 7.

bishops, and where he threatened and forced him to subscribe to their creed. But at his return home, he publicly retracted his subscription, protesting he did it for fear, and under force, however advising the people to procure another bishop to be placed over them, he himself having, though through compulsion, denied the faith. The citizens heard his request, but loved the man too well to part with him upon any terms. But what they would not, Eudoxius of Constantinople did for him: who having obtained a warrant from the emperor, came to Cyzicum, deposed and banished Eleusius, and promoted Eunomius, Aetius's scribe and scholar, into his room; who yet did not long enjoy that place. For the people being exasperated by him, mutinied, and drove him out of the city; who thereupon fled to Constantinople, and lived with his dear friend Eudoxius. But I digress too far. Macedonius, after his being deposed, settled himself in a place over-against Constantinople, called Pylæ; the time of his death is not known: Sozomen places it under Constantius,<sup>1</sup> but Nicephorus says he lived a long time after his deposition,<sup>m</sup> which indeed was not made till within less than two years before Constantius's death; Eudoxius, his successor, entering upon that see, anno 360.

VII. After his death his followers suffered not his opinions to die. In the article of Christ's divinity they held a middle course between the Catholics and high-flown Arians;<sup>n</sup> though Nazianzen<sup>o</sup> and some others say, that they were sound in the doctrine concerning the Son of God, which yet I must confess I see no evidence to affirm: in the catholic doctrine they rejected the word *ὁμοούσιον*, or "consubstantial," as unscriptural, and anathematized the Anomæans or Eunomians, who asserted him to be unlike the Father, joining herein with the Semiarians, in maintaining the Son to be *ὁμοιούσιος*, of a "like substance" with his Father; and accordingly, in the first canon of our present council, are styled *Pneumatomachi*. or Semiarians; as Semiarians, they allowed not Christ to be consubstantial; as *Pneumatomachi*, they denied the deity of the Holy Ghost. Their sect increased greatly,<sup>p</sup> not only at Constantinople, but in Thrace, Hellespont, Bithynia, and the neighbouring provinces:

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv. c. 23.

<sup>m</sup> Lib. ix. c. 46.

<sup>n</sup> Epiph. Hæres. lxxiii. c. 24. et c. 1. Theodor. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Orat. xlv. p. 710.

<sup>p</sup> Sozom. l. iv. c. 27.

and indeed the men were masters at the art of insinuation; their behaviour was grave and mortified, their life severe and monastical,<sup>q</sup> their address smooth and plausible, and accommodate to the humour of the persons that they had to deal with; and when at any time put to a pinch, by shifting and juggling,<sup>r</sup> and professing themselves Catholics, they knew how to secure their reputation and their interest. By these ways they successfully propagated their opinions, and were become so considerable in those parts, that Theodosius, for this and some other reasons,<sup>s</sup> thought fit to convene a general council, to which he summoned the bishops of that party, hoping to reconcile them to the catholic church, from the doctrine whereof they seemed not much to differ. And there was the more reason to think so, because they had more than once and again subscribed the Nicene creed; so they did at Antioch,<sup>t</sup> so at Rome,<sup>u</sup> and in several synods of the West, and by that means procured the letters testimonial of pope Liberius, and several of the Western prelates, and were thereupon received by the catholic party, though upon every occasion they returned to their old principles; as was evident, in that when Gratian the emperor published a law to licence all sects to act according to their own way,<sup>w</sup> though for some years before they had freely communicated with the Catholics, they then flew off, and synodically assembling at Antioch, decreed against the consubstantial doctrine, and that none should hold communion with the professors of the Nicene faith. Thirty-six of their bishops came to the council, the heads whereof were Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum, and Marcianus of Lampsacum. The good emperor and the fathers of the synod took infinite pains with them to bring them over, putting them in mind of their promises and protestations made to Liberius, and others in their Western embassy, and that they had of late voluntarily communicated with the Catholics; and that it was indecent and imprudent, that they, who had once embraced the faith, should now endeavour to subvert it. But the men were obstinate, not to be wrought upon, either by arguments or entreaties, and plainly told them, that whatever they might have heretofore said to the contrary, they were resolved never to subscribe the consubstan-

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Naz. Orat. xlv. p. 711.

<sup>s</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Id. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. vii. c. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. iii. c. 25.

<sup>w</sup> Id. l. v. c. 4.



tial faith: with which answer they left the synod, and went out of town, and wrote to their party in all places, that they should not agree to the Nicene creed. For which contumacy they were, together with others, condemned by the council; and with these anathematisms they ended their determinations about matters of faith. I observe no more concerning this part of the council, than that no sooner was the synod broken up, but the good emperor Theodosius, by a law bearing date the first of August,<sup>x</sup> ratified what they had decried against these heretics, commanding that the Arians, Eunomians, and Aetians, should have no leave to build churches in any place; and that if they did, such ground should be immediately confiscated, as also all places where they held their conventicles, or where their ministers should be entertained. Nay, to expose them yet further, he caused the images of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, and Eunomius,<sup>y</sup> to be cut in marble, and placed near the ground in the public forum, not far from the chamber of the senate, (the very place where Arius made his shameful and miserable end,) that so all that passed by might spit, or throw dirt upon them, or treat them with the most ignominious expressions of scorn and detestation; and these images, my author assures us, were still standing in his time.

VIII. The third thing that fell under the consideration of the synod, was the providing some rules relating to the external polity and discipline of the church: a thing usual in all great synods. And of the seven canons that the council passed, four of them are of this nature, whereof two most considerable, the second and third. By the second they fix and state the bounds and limits of the greater Eastern churches, according to the constitution of the then Roman empire. There were under the government of the prætorian prefect of the East five dioceses:<sup>z</sup> the East especially so called, Egypt, Asiana, Pontica, and Thrace, each of which contained several provinces under it; the East fifteen, Egypt six, Asiana ten, Pontica eleven, and Thrace six. According to this form the fathers settled the jurisdiction of the churches in the Eastern empire: that the bishop of Alexandria should govern Egypt, that is, all the churches

<sup>x</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 8.

<sup>y</sup> Codin. de Orig. Const. p. 23. Demonstr. Chron. Gr. Lat. a Comb. edit. p. 17.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. notit. Imper. Orient.



within the political diocese of Egypt; the bishops of the East those of the Eastern diocese, reserving all the privileges granted to the see of Antioch by the Nicene canon; they of Asiana within Asiana, of Pontica within Pontica, of Thrace within that diocese; that is, that the primates, or the bishops of the chief metropolis within these several dioceses, with the assistance of the bishops that were under them, should manage and direct all common affairs within those bounds, and which could not be conveniently managed by the bishops of every single province. Socrates, speaking of this canon, says,<sup>a</sup> that having divided the provinces, they constituted patriarchs. Whether by these he meant patriarchs properly so called, and whether they owed their original to the constitution of this council, is not easily determinable; it is affirmed by some, and denied by others. It seems to be some prejudice to the affirmative, that the canon itself gives not the least hint of any such matter. Perhaps Valesius's conjecture is not improbable;<sup>b</sup> that by patriarchs, Socrates means some persons peculiarly deputed, if not by the synod, at least by the emperor, to exercise for the present an extraordinary ecclesiastic power within those several dioceses, for the settling of affairs of late much disturbed and out of order. Thus, besides Nectarius of Constantinople, who had Thrace, and Timotheus of Alexandria, who had Egypt, the patriarchate of the Pontican diocese (says Socrates) was committed to Helladius bishop of Cæsarea, Basil's successor, Gregory Nyssen, and Otreius of Meletina in Armenia; that of Asiana to Amphilochius of Iconium, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia; that of the Eastern diocese to Pelagius of Laodicea, and to Diodorus of Tarsus: where we may observe, that he of Antioch, though the first bishop of that diocese, is not mentioned, probably because Meletius, bishop of that see, was newly dead; and though Flavian was immediately thrust up into his room, yet his election was hotly disputed and contested; upon which account, it is like, the emperor forbore to nominate him in the constitution which he published about this matter. However, that the see might not suffer any prejudice, both the emperor and the canon make particular provision, that the rights and privileges granted to the church of Antioch by the canons of the council of Nice, should be reserved entire. And I am the more inclined to think this

<sup>a</sup> Lib. v. c. 8.<sup>b</sup> Vales. Annot. in Socrat. p. 60.

to have been Socrates's meaning, because Sozomen,<sup>c</sup> who wrote after him, relates it thus: that the persons mentioned were appointed as standards of the catholic communion within those several districts, by whom, as by proper judges, persons professing the catholic consubstantial doctrine were to be tried, and thereupon be admitted to their churches. This will be beyond all dispute, if we consider, that upon the passing this canon, and the rising of the council, Theodosius put out an imperial edict,<sup>d</sup> commanding the churches in these several dioceses to be delivered to as many as confessed the true faith of the Holy Trinity, and held communion with the persons above mentioned. The truth is, this matter has been not a little obscured by Socrates and Sozomen, who, it is plain, have confounded the canon and the law of Theodosius, and patched up one out of both, whenas they were widely different. The canon is general, and states the constant bounds of those Eastern jurisdictions; that each of those five divisions should be of equal extent with the civil diocese, and that the bishops of one diocese should not ordinarily intermeddle in another. The edict, which was grounded upon and published immediately after the canon, was particular, and only temporary, nominating what persons within those five dioceses should manage and transact church affairs, for the present greatly out of order, and judge who were fit, after so many disturbances and irregularities as had lately overrun the church, to be admitted to communion. This being done, that edict was of no more force; and is therefore omitted in the code of Justinian, the power it conveyed being personal, and accordingly long since expired. In short, whatever becomes of the patriarchal controversy, whereof more perhaps in another place, the meaning of the canon is evidently this: that those five dioceses should be the ordinary division of the Eastern churches, and that the bishops of one diocese should not interfere with, nor ordain, or exercise any act of authority and jurisdiction in another; and that this being observed, the affairs of every province should be decided by the synod of that province, according to the Nicene constitutions. And it was but time to provide for this, there having been of late some uncanonical proceedings; thus Peter of Alexandria took upon him, by the three bishops he sent, to ordain Maximus of Constantinople, as Me-

<sup>c</sup> Lib. vii. c. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. i. l. 3.

letius of Antioch, and some others, to translate Nazianzen to the same see.

IX. The other canon concerns the dignity and precedence of the see of Constantinople, which, for the honour of the imperial court, they advance above all others but Rome. The canon is drawn up in these words:°

“ Let the bishop of Constantinople have the precedence or privilege of honour after the bishop of Rome, forasmuch as Constantinople is New Rome.”

This canon laid the first step of that ascent whereby the bishop of Constantinople mounted up to rival Rome, giving him the next place of honour; which the council of Chalcedon<sup>f</sup> afterwards enlarged into an equality, establishing him τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα, “equal privileges” with the see of Rome; nay, gave him power as well as honour, subjecting to his see the three great dioceses of Pontica, Asiana, and Thrace, together with the bishops that were in the barbarous countries, that is, (say the scholiasts upon that canon,) the Alani and the Russi; the one belonging to Pontica, the other to Thrace. Nay, some have so far stretched the meaning of our present canon as to tell us,<sup>g</sup> that the præposition μετὰ, *after*, implies not any inferior degree of privilege to Rome, but only a posteriority in point of time, which must be confessed to savour of a critical nicety. Though it cannot be denied, but that the fathers at Chalcedon so understood it, that by virtue of this canon the same honours and privileges were conferred upon the bishops of *New*, as had been upon them of *Old* Rome, and as such they ratified it with their sanction. And as in the first ages of Christianity scarce any thing more advanced the grandeur and reputation of the church of Rome, than its being the seat of the empire, its privileges being granted by the fathers upon that account, (as they of Chalcedon expressly affirm,) so they conceived it but reasonable, that Constantinople being now made the seat of the imperial throne, the church there should bear some proportion to the dignity of the civil state, and the bishops enjoy as much privilege as they did at Rome. And indeed the best way to let in light, both upon this and the preceding canon, and to find what privileges were granted to the see of Constantinople by this canon, as also by that of Chalcedon and some following councils, were to inquire,

° Can. 3.    <sup>f</sup> Can. 28.    <sup>g</sup> Al. Arist. in h. l. Vid. etiam comm. Bals. et Zonar. ibid.



what precedence and power the Roman bishops anciently had, and what they usurped : to which purpose I had once thought to have ventured the reader's patience upon a digression concerning the ancient power and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the gradual encroachments of that see over other bishops, especially them of Constantinople. But because this would be too great an interruption in the course of the story, I have chosen rather to refer it to a discourse by itself, where the reader may peruse, or pass it by, at pleasure.

## SECTION VI.

### PARTICULAR TRANSACTIONS OF THE COUNCIL RELATING TO NAZIANZEN. HIS RESIGNATION AND DEPARTURE.

Dissensions arising in the synod about the see of Antioch. Nazianzen's proposal in favour of Paulinus ill resented, and combinations made against him. His free discourse to them upon that occasion. The people troubled at the bare report of his readiness to resign. The confederacy against him increased by the arrival of the Egyptian bishops. Their opposition to him, whence. His admirable oration to them concerning peace. His address to the emperor for leave to resign his see. This very difficultly obtained. His eloquent oration to the synod at his taking leave. Some passages of that oration laid before the reader. The time of his departure, and universal sorrow for it. Nectarius elected to be his successor. The occasion of his name being proposed among the rest. The emperor pitches upon him, and persists in his resolution. The dissolution of the council.

HITHERTO things had gone on smoothly in the council, when they fell into disturbance and confusion, which began upon this occasion. Meletius, the good bishop of Antioch, died during the sitting of the council,<sup>i</sup> whose funeral (as became a person of his age and merits) was attended with an universal confluence of the city, and on several days honoured with orations by the most eloquent persons in the council. And now great heats arose among them about choosing a successor in his room, a strong party being made for Flavianus, presbyter of Antioch, for whom at last they carried it. Nazianzen, hoping to reconcile the differences, propounded a pious and peaceable expedient, (though his appearing in it, and thereby seeming to espouse the cause of the Western prelates, as was that of Paulinus against

<sup>i</sup> Naz. Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 25. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 29, 30.



them of the East, conjured up a spirit, which all his art and interest could not lay, the opposite party in the synod fermenting into heat and passion, who hence took occasion to fall upon him, till nothing would satisfy them but the throwing up his place; he propounded,) that Paulinus, whom Lucifer Calaritanus had ordained bishop of Antioch, might continue so for the short remainder of his life, after whose death (which could not be far off) all competitions ceasing, they might then choose whom they pleased, and so a period be put to the unhappy long-continued schism of that church. He told them further, that as to himself, he had unwillingly entered upon the see of Constantinople, and though he had spent, and that not unsuccessfully, infinite pains and labours in that place, yet he expected no other reward but from above; that after the importunities of the people, and their own free votes had forced the thing upon him, it seemed strange that any of them should go about to undo their own act, and endeavour to supplant and undermine him; not that he cared for riches or honour, or prided himself in the title of bishop of the imperial city, but that he had a tender regard to the necessities of the people, and that it must needs cast an imputation either of envy or levity upon themselves, to run counter to their own late determinations. However, if they had a mind to take that course, he was ready freely to resign his bishopric; they might consult and resolve upon what they pleased; solitude had never been unwelcome to him, and it was his comfort, that though they might separate him from his see, they could never part between him and God. Having ended his speech, he perceived the faction to grow strong against him, and the ancients ready to side with the younger and more heady part of the council; so he left them, and retired to a remote part of the city, purposely to avoid the noise and crowd. But no sooner what had passed was rumoured abroad, but a crowd of people thronged about him, and passionately besought him to pity the miserable flock, which with so much care and pains he had hitherto fed and governed. What, would he now throw up the crop which he had sown, and had brought, from so small a handful, to so much maturity and plenty? To whom would he leave his sheep? He had hitherto spent his strength amongst them, let him give God and them the remainder of his life, and lay his bones amongst them. He could not but be greatly

affected with their prayers and tears, yet suffered not himself to be moved from his resolution, which he every day found more reason to put into execution.

II. For about this time arrived Timotheus bishop of Alexandria, with his prelates and others out of Macedonia, who, mindful of the old quarrel, and meeting with this happy opportunity, remonstrated against Nazianzen's being elected to that see, not out of any dislike to him, (as they privately told him,) but opposition to the rest who had settled him in it without their consent; and to cover their spite with some specious pretext, charged them with an irregular procedure in that affair, especially in allowing translations from one see to another, condemned by the canons of the church. Factions thus increasing, he endeavours, if possible, to compose them by an oration concerning peace,<sup>k</sup> which he purposely preached upon this occasion, wherein he lays before them, with all the advantages of his rhetoric, the great blessings and benefits of peace, the infinite mischiefs of divisions and animosities amongst Christians, how contrary they are to the principles of our faith, and how dishonourable to God and to religion, and what advantages they give to the enemies of our faith. "What a disgrace is it, (said he,<sup>l</sup>) and how unbecoming such sage and reverend prelates, that you, who press others to peace, should fiercely contend with mutual animosities; no matter what becomes of me, so this great assembly may but be united. Let this be your prime care and business; I am content to sacrifice my reputation, and to be accounted rude, blunt, or ignorant, so you may agree. Nay, though I have been far enough from raising the storm, yet, if it may save the ship, I am not better than the prophet Jonah; throw me into the sea, and let these storms and tempests cease, I can be willing to be condemned to an hospital, or to suffer any thing you shall think fit to inflict, if by that means I may but give being to your concord, I do not desire any laws should be violated for my sake; I herein give a law to myself, not to account any thing hard or uneasy. I unwillingly accepted this throne, and I now willingly quit it. The craziness of my body minds me of it. Death is a debt which I owe, and it must once be paid, and it is in God's hand when he please to call for

<sup>k</sup> Orat. xiv. p. 213.

<sup>l</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 29. Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 31.

it. Adieu, dear brethren, and preserve a just memory of my pains and labours." And because, where other artifices of malice failed, some of them had given out, that it was not the patronage and defence of truth, but pride and an ambitious affectation of that honourable see had brought him thither, he vindicated himself in a particular oration;<sup>m</sup> wherein he appealed to the people, whether he had not, with all earnestness and obstinacy, declined the place, till he had been with a violent and irresistible importunity seated upon that throne, which he knew not, εἴτε τυραννικὸν λέγειν εἴτε ἀρχιερατικὸν, "whether to style a tyrannical, or an archiepiscopal dignity;" that had he been guilty of so much vanity and folly, especially in his circumstances, an infirm old man, broken with age and sickness, he should blush to look up to heaven, or to shew his face in that sacred assembly, and his former pains and labours, his coarse habit, and empty table, not much better furnished than that of the fowls of heaven; his accustomed retirements and private life would rise up against him: but there could be little reason to charge him with invading another's see, who had rejected one of his own. But, alas, where passion and anger, malice and interest govern, it makes men deaf to the fairest reasonings. These courses therefore not succeeding, he resolved to be no longer a bone of contention, and to that end went straight to court; where, upon his knees, kissing the emperor's hand, he told him, "I am come, sir, to beg a request of you, not riches or treasure for myself, or costly ornaments for the church, or honours or offices for my relations; these are little things, fit for narrow and contracted minds, they are greater matters I design for myself; this only I beg, that I may have leave to be gone, and to give way to the envious and ill-minded; if I like bishoprics any where, it is a great way off; here I disgust my very friends, only because I value nothing but God; I beseech you, amongst all the trophies and triumphs of your reign, let this be the greatest, your reducing them to unity and concord, whom if the fear of God will not, let your authority compel them to lay down their arms; this is the last request of him, whom your majesty knows you placed against his will upon this episcopal throne." The emperor and those that stood by, admired the temper of the man, and was at last drawn, not without some difficulty, to

<sup>m</sup> Orat. xxvii. p. 464. Vid. p. 465, 467, 468.



consent to his petition ; whose leave being obtained, he had now nothing to do, but to take his farewell. To which end, in the great church, before the one hundred and fifty fathers of the synod, and as many of the people as the church could hold, he made his last oration ;<sup>n</sup> the whole is admirably worth the reader's perusal, but to avoid tediousness, I shall select only such passages as are most material. After he had acquainted them in what a woful case he found the church at his first coming to Constantinople, what miserable devastations the late persecutions had every where made of the catholic church, and had given them an account what reformation he had wrought in his charge, and what doctrine he had preached to them, he comes to apologize for himself: "Have we (says he<sup>o</sup>) circumvented this people through covetousness, or, as I see many do, sacrificed their interest to my own private gain? Have we at any time disturbed the church? 'Whose ox or whose ass have I taken,' as the price of your souls, and have not kept my ministry pure and uncorrupt? If I have affected domination, or a sublime see, or have haunted princes' courts, let that be my only portion; or if it were, I would soon rid my hands of it. Let me have this as the reward of all my labours, to be delivered from my burden, and to enjoy my ease; look upon my gray hairs, and have respect to me as a stranger; substitute another in my room, who may undergo trouble for you, a man strict and eloquent, and who may at once be fit to gratify you, and able to go through with the affairs of the church, for such the necessities of this time do call for. You see in what a case I am, my body worn out with age, labour, and sickness: little need have you of such a timorous and feeble old man as I am, dying daily through care and weakness, and who at this time am scarce able to speak to you. Believe your guide, whom you were never wont to disbelieve; I am weary, while my mildness and moderation is charged upon me for a fault; I am weary, while I am forced to encounter with rumours and envy, and not only with enemies but friends, who wound more deeply and securely . . . I beseech you,<sup>p</sup> by all that is dear and sacred, do me this kindness, to dismiss me with your prayers, let that be the reward of my conflicts and trials; grant me a warrant for my discharge, as generals are wont to do to their old worn-

<sup>n</sup> Orat. xxxii. p. 510.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 522.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 526, 527.



out soldiers ; and let it be, if you please, with an honourable acclamation at my *exit* ; if not, do your pleasure, it is a thing which I will not contend about, it is enough that God beholds and will regard my cause. And as for a successor, God will provide himself a pastor, as once he did a lamb for a burnt-offering. I only beg this of you, that you would choose such a one, as may be the object rather of men's envy than their pity, who may not be ready basely to comply with every one upon all occasions, but willing to venture the favour and the frowns of men in the doing of what is just and true. The one course may be sweet at present, but the other will turn to account another day." Having discoursed thus, he comes in the close to take a particular farewell, which he does in this elegant and pathological apostrophe.

"Farewell, Anastasia, whose very name speaks piety ; thou that gavest a new life to the catholic doctrine, when buried under ignominy and contempt ; farewell, I say, thou seat of common victory, thou Shiloh, into which we brought and fixed the ark of God, after it had wandered up and down in the desert for forty years together. And thou great and venerable temple, the new inheritance, who owest the magnificence thou now enjoyest to the orthodox faith, and whom of a Jebus we made a Jerusalem. And all the rest of you churches, that approach to it in splendour and beauty, and that like chains compass about and connect the several parts of the city, which we, in the midst of all our weakness, enabled by divine assistance, as contemptible as we were made, were wont to fill in our circular visitations. Farewell, apostles, the noble colony transplanted hither, the leaders of my conflicts and sufferings, though I must confess I have not so frequently celebrated your solemnities, perhaps because I carried your St. Paul's Satans about with me in the body, (a thing conducive to my advantage,) the reason why I now depart from you. Farewell, my episcopal chair, thou dangerous and envied throne ; farewell, thou assembly of bishops, persons venerable for your age and gravity, and all the rest of you that officiate at the holy table, and minister before God, who is nigh to them that draw nigh to him. Farewell, the choirs of Nazarites, the harmonious psalmodies, nocturnal stations, the modest virgins, grave matrons, the crowds of widows and orphans, the eyes of the poor, always intent upon God and

us. Farewell, hospitals, lovers of Christ, and helpers of mine infirmities. Farewell, the affectionate frequenters of my sermons,<sup>q</sup> the crowds thronging to the church, the swift-handed notaries, and these rails so often pressed upon by my greedy auditors. Farewell, emperors, with your courts and courtiers, perhaps not more faithful to the emperor than to God. Clap your hands, and with your shrill voice cry out, exalt your orator. The busy and insolent tongue, (as you account it,) has been silent towards you, but shall not be always so, but shall fight against you with hand and pen, though for the present we have held our peace. Farewell, great city, thou lover of Christ and his religion; for I will bear thee record, that thou 'hast a zeal, but not according to knowledge:' parting has rendered us more mutually kind. Embrace the truth, and at length change for the better; worship God oftener than you used to do; it is no dishonour to alter for the better, but to persist in a bad course is pernicious and deadly. Farewell, East and West, for whom and by whom we are opposed and troubled, witness he that can make us quiet, if a few would but give way, and imitate my resignation: a thing that may be done without any considerable disadvantage; for they lose not God, who desert their thrones, but secure to themselves a throne above, much more sublime and safe. But above and beyond all other things, I will cry, farewell, angels, the tutelar guardians of this church, and both of my company and departure, so long as my affairs are in the hands of God. Farewell, Trinity, my meditation and my ornament; mayest thou be secured to them, and do thou secure and keep safe this my people, (mine, I call them, though we are now under another management of affairs,) and let me hear the news of it every day, how much thou art increased and advanced both by the doctrine and the life of thy professors. 'Little children, keep that which I have committed to you;' remember my being stoned. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.' "

We may imagine what impression so passionate an oration, from so dearly beloved a prelate, made upon the minds of the people. Rich and poor,<sup>r</sup> the honourable and ignoble, strangers and citizens, were equally affected with it, and could not with patience hear of their pastor's being ravished from them, inso-

<sup>q</sup> De hac re vid. Orat. xxvii. in init. p. 464.

<sup>r</sup> Carm. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 30.

much that he himself was forced to persuade them, and ply them with such considerations as were proper to sweeten and allay their grief. Nay, very many of the bishops themselves, detesting the rash and violent proceedings of the council, shook their heads, and went away. The exact time of his resignation is not transmitted to us. If the date of his will (which we shall produce hereafter) be true, it must be some time after the last of December, anno 381, seeing he therein writes himself bishop of Constantinople. But this cannot be, the council itself not sitting so long by several months. So that there is a necessity, with Baronius,<sup>s</sup> to assert, that instead of *Ἰουλίῳ*, *Ἰανουαρίῳ* crept into the date by the carelessness of transcribers, and that the will was made the day before the calends of June, that is, the last of May, during the sitting of the council. And that it must be so, we have this further evidence, it being plain by a law of Theodosius,<sup>t</sup> bearing date July the 30th of this year, that Nectarius was then bishop of Constantinople. Thus, after three years' stay, (Gregorius presbyter by a prodigious error makes it twelve,<sup>u</sup>) Nazianzen left Constantinople, and returned into his own country, where he reposed himself at Arianzum, his paternal estate, where we leave him for a little time, while we return to Constantinople, and see what passed there.

III. The see thus vacated by resignation, the next thing to be done was the choosing of a successor; and what to the reader will seem strange and admirable, in so great a number of grave venerable prelates there assembled, not one was picked out, but the election was cast upon a layman, which happened thus.<sup>x</sup> There was at Constantinople at that time one Nectarius, a senator, a person of a comely presence and of a sober and unblameable conversation, which, together with his gray hairs, (never more "a crown of honour, than when found in the way of righteousness,") procured him an universal reverence and regard. Being about this time to go for Tarsus, the place of his nativity, he came to Diodorus bishop of that see, then one of the council, to know what services he would command him into his own country, and whether he had any letters to send thither. Diodorus, who was just then taken up with the profound consideration of a fit person for that place, about which there was

<sup>s</sup> Ad Ann. 389.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. i. l. 3.

<sup>u</sup> In vit. Naz. p. 32.

<sup>x</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 8.



so ambitious a competition, beheld the man, secretly liked him, and resolved to put in for him. Without discovering any thing of his purpose, he carried him to the bishop of Antioch, to whom he propounded the matter, and begged his vote. The good bishop, considering how many excellent persons stood candidates, smiled at the motion, however wished Nectarius not suddenly to depart the city. Upon the day of election, when every bishop wrote down in a scroll the names of those persons whom he thought fit to be presented to the emperor, the bishop of Antioch set down his, and, to gratify his friend, put down Nectarius at the bottom; the roll being presented, the emperor once and again run over the names from top to bottom, and after all, to the amazement of the synod, pitched upon Nectarius, a person unknown to most of them, and upon inquiry found (what still increased their admiration) to be not only a layman, but unbaptized. Whereat yet the emperor's judgment was no whit shaken, though several of the synod took exceptions at it; at last, by general consent, he was baptized, and passed through the ecclesiastic orders, and was consecrated to that see. Some few other things of no great moment were transacted in the synod; after which, having addressed themselves to the emperor,<sup>y</sup> that by his imperial edict he would ratify the acts of the council, and as by his letters he had given beginning, so by the same way he would seal up the conclusion of it; and having prayed to heaven for his long life, prosperous reign, and future happiness, they brake up, and departed into their own countries.

## SECTION VII.

### HIS ACTS FROM HIS RESIGNATION TO HIS DEATH.

He is invited to the reassembling of the synod at Constantinople; but refuses to come, and why. His excuse sent to the emperor. His refusal to take upon him the charge of Nazianzum. The slanders raised upon him upon that account. Another synod at Constantinople. The activity of the catholic bishops against the prevalency of the Arians. The bold address of Amphilochius to the emperor. Theodosius ratifies the consubstantial doctrine, and rejects all sorts of heretics. Nazianzen's care and solicitude for the peace of the church. The employment and diversions of his retired life. His frequent infirmities. His last will and testament exemplified at large. This will when made. His age, and the time of his death. The description of his person and

<sup>y</sup> Ext. Epist. ad Conc. vol. iii. p. 354. ed. reg.



outward shape. His image, whether set up, and worshipped in his church. His divine temper of mind. His great piety and love to God, contempt of the world, unbiassed carriage, mortification and self-denial, kindness and charity, concernment for the peace of the church, calmness and patience, and immoveable zeal for the catholic faith. His natural parts. Great fame for learning; accuracy in theology. Honoured with the title of "the divine." His way of writing. The excellency and sublimity of his style. His imitation of Isocrates. Basil, he, and Apollinaris, compared. His too much indulging the vein of oratory, gave hint to the practice of invoking saints. His excellent skill in poetry. Why none of his works epitomized or mentioned by Photius. An account of his writings.

THE following year, many of these bishops reassembled at Constantinople,<sup>z</sup> at what time they received letters from the prelates of the West, attended with others from the emperor, desiring them to come to a synod then summoned at Rome. They excused themselves from the journey for several reasons, which they represented by legates with letters,<sup>a</sup> directed to pope Damasus, St. Ambrose, and the rest of the bishops convened at Rome: wherein they also acquaint them with the sufferings and persecutions of the Eastern churches; the faith they professed, and which the year before they had ratified in a general council; and what provision they had made for the greater churches, of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. To add the greater reputation to their meeting, they had among others caused Nazianzen to be summoned to this second convention at Constantinople, but he plainly refused to come to this, or indeed any other synodical assembly; experience (he tells them<sup>b</sup>) had sufficiently taught him, how little good was to be expected from synods, which usually more widen than heal up differences; where very often they clash and quarrel, wrangle and make a noise, more like a flock of geese and cranes than an assembly of wise and grave prelates:<sup>c</sup> at such meetings, strife and contention, pride and ambition are wont to bear the greatest sway; and a man that interposes as a judge, shall sooner corrupt himself, than correct and reform another. That for this reason he had retired within himself, and accounted the only safety to lie in privacy and solitude. Besides, he was at this time prisoner to an heavy sickness,<sup>d</sup> which pressed so hard upon him, that

<sup>z</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 8.

<sup>a</sup> Ext. Ep. *ibid.* c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Naz. Ep. lv. p. 814. Vid. Ep. lxxviii. p. 828. et seq. Ep. lxxxiv. p. 842.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Naz. de divers. vit. gener. Carm. x. vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. etiam Ep. lxxvi. p. 830.

he was unable to help himself, and expected every day to breathe out his last. This he desired his friend Procopius (to whom he wrote about this matter) to intimate to the emperor, and to beg his excuse, which he doubted not would be easily granted, the emperor having, not long since, upon this very account, granted him leave to retire. And indeed he was better employed at home. At his return he found the see of Nazianzum still vacant,<sup>e</sup> and by that means overrun with error, especially the late heresy of Apollinaris. And though he was earnestly entreated to take that charge upon him, yet did he obstinately refuse it. This his enemies took advantage of, to traduce and scandalize him, some charging him with pride,<sup>f</sup> that he scorned the cure of so mean a place; whereof he acquits himself by a solemn appeal to heaven, that it was only age and infirmity, and the desire of a quiet life, made him decline it: others reported,<sup>g</sup> that he could not have it, though he would, and that Helladius, archbishop of Cæsarea, had laid him aside, and against his will ordained another to that place; the falsehood whereof he lays open in a letter to Gregory Nyssen, purposely written on that occasion. And indeed it was by his recommendation and effectual intercession that care was taken in it,<sup>h</sup> and that the bishops of the province met, who ordained his good friend Eulalius to that see. And whereas it was objected, that he having been bishop of Nazianzum, it was not lawful by the canons to create another during his life; he answered, that it was notoriously known, that though he had been made bishop of Sasima, yet he had never been of Nazianzum, where, out of reverence to his aged father, and at the mighty importunity of the people, he had only sojourned a little while, and taken upon him the vicarious administration of that office.

II. If we look back a little upon the late transactions at Constantinople, we shall find, that notwithstanding all the pains which the good emperor had been at to heal the church's wounds, yet the breaches continued, and grew wider than before. However, he resolved to try once more to make them up, and to that end to convene another synod,<sup>i</sup> whither the heads of the several

<sup>e</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Naz. Carm. i. de reb. suis. Vid. Ep. ccxxii. p. 909.

<sup>g</sup> Naz. Ep. xlii. p. 803. Vid. Ep. liv. p. 813.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Ep. ccxxv. p. 912.

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 10. Sozom. l. vii. c. 12. Theodor. l. v. c. 16.

parties should be summoned; and advising with Nectarius about it, he gave him order to prepare the most material points then in difference, that they might be debated with all possible accuracy, and the faith of the church reduced to one common standard by mutual consent. And the better to sweeten the humours of the several parties, he endeavoured to oblige them by acts of grace, receiving them with caresses, and conniving at the exercises of their religion. The catholic bishops were greatly troubled at this liberty indulged to heretics, not knowing how far those subtle agents might work upon the good nature of the emperor. Whereupon Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, went to him, and in the name of the rest requested, that the Arian conventicles might be suppressed, and they dismissed the city. But the address being rejected, the good bishop, to convince him of his error by a more sensible demonstration, came a second time to court, and having paid the usual reverence to the emperor, took little or no notice of the young prince Arcadius, whom Theodosius had but a little before made his colleague in the empire. The emperor quickly discerned the slightingness of his carriage, and thinking it had proceeded from forgetfulness, called to him, and commanded him to pay the accustomed respects to his son. The bishop replied, the honour he had given him was enough. Whereat the emperor began to storm, and told him, he looked upon a contempt done to his son as offered to himself. "You see then, sir, (replied the bishop,) how little you can bear an affront offered to your son, and how angry you are with them that do it; think now with yourself, and be assured, that God, the great King of the world, does much more resent and detest those that blaspheme his only begotten Son, as persons extremely ungrateful to their Saviour and best benefactor." The emperor was quickly sensible of the rebuke, and needed no more application to dispose him to a compliance with the petition of the catholic bishops. However, that things might be carried in the fairest manner, the synod met in June, anno 383. But the emperor having altered his resolution, of having things canvassed in a way of public disputation, commanded the principals of every sect to present an account of their faith in writing, which they did accordingly. These being brought in, he took the papers, and retiring into his closet, earnestly begged of God his assistance and direction in the search of truth. This



done, he read over the several confessions, and only approved and set his seal to that which contained the consubstantial doctrine; the rest he tore in pieces, the authors of them returning home with shame and sorrow: all which Theodosius, a few days after, ratified by two very strict constitutions against all sorts of heretics,<sup>k</sup> especially the Eunomians, Arians, Macedonians, and some others particularly named; prohibiting them, under severe penalties, to meet either in public or private, either in city or country, or so much as to ordain any bishops of their several parties. But these laws met with a very slack and gentle execution.

III. Though Nazianzen refused to be present at this, or indeed any other synodal convention, yet how much he was concerned for the happy issue and success of it, viz. the peace of the church, appears from two letters of his written upon this occasion: one to Posthumianus,<sup>l</sup> the prætorian prefect, to whom also the emperor had directed the two laws we mentioned; the other to Saturninus,<sup>m</sup> the same, probably, who was consul this year; assuring them, that though he had withdrawn himself from public affairs, it was not, as some imagined, from any discontent for the loss of the great place he had quitted, and that he could not abandon the common interests of religion; that his retirement was a matter of choice more than necessity, and was to him a most welcome and happy opportunity, wherein he took as great a pleasure, as a man that has been tossed in a long storm at sea does in a safe and a quiet harbour. And indeed, being now freed from all external cares and troubles, he entirely gave up himself to solitude and contemplation, and to the exercises of a strict and devout life. At vacant hours he would refresh the wearinesses of old age with his poetic studies,<sup>n</sup> which he generally spent upon divine subjects, and serious reflections upon the former passages of his life, an account whereof he drew up in iambics, whence we have derived no inconsiderable parts of our story. And thus he passed the remainder of his days, till death overtook him, which he had long expected. Indeed, his frequent infirmities (for though naturally of an healthful constitution, hard study and an over-rigid abstinence had greatly impaired his health, and subjected him to many severe distempers, whereof

<sup>k</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 11. et 12.

<sup>l</sup> Epist. lxxi. p. 828.

<sup>m</sup> Epist. lxxii. *ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> Greg. Presb. in vit. Naz. p. 33.

he complains at every turn, especially in his epistles, these, I say) had kept awake in him a constant sense of his mortality, and he entertained every sickness as a messenger of death. He had some years since made his will, a copy whereof is still extant, said in the title to have been transcribed from the original, subscribed with his and the witnesses' own hands. That it is genuine, there appears no just cause to doubt, the exceptions to it being weak and trifling, and the thing itself not much controverted by the most nice and critical censors of the fathers' writings,<sup>o</sup> which therefore we shall here insert as a monument of ancient piety, and a record of this good man's humility and charity.

“The most excellent Flavius Eucherius and Fl. Evagrius being consuls, the day before the calends of January, [that is, December the last.]

“I, Gregory, bishop of the catholic church of Constantinople, being alive and considerate, of a sound judgment, and perfect understanding, have made this my last will and testament, which I will and command to be firm and valid in all courts and upon all occasions. For I have now declared my mind, and have consecrated my whole estate to the catholic church at Nazianzum, for the relief of the poor belonging to the said church. For which purpose, according to this determination, I have appointed three overseers for the poor, Marcellus deacon and monk, Gregory the deacon, and Eustathius the monk, who both of them were of my family. And having still the same affection towards the holy church of Nazianzum, I continue in the same purpose and resolution. Whensoever therefore I shall happen to depart this life, let the abovesaid Gregory deacon and monk, who was of my family, and whom heretofore I manumitted, be heir to all my estate moveable and immoveable, wheresoever it be, (all other heirs I renounce,) upon condition, that he restore my whole estate, moveable and immoveable, to the holy catholic church of Nazianzum, deducting nothing, but what in this my will, either by way of trust or legacy, I have privately bequeathed to some few persons; but that all the rest be entirely reserved to the said church, as becomes one that has the fear of God before his eyes, and knows that I have ordained and disposed my whole

estate to the use of the poor of that church, and have appointed him heir for this very end, that by his means it may be kept safe and without fraud for the church aforesaid.

“The servants whom I have manumitted, either out of my own good will, or according to the command of my parents of blessed memory, my will is, that they shall still enjoy their freedom, and all their own proper goods, without disturbance or molestation.

“Item, I will, that Gregory the deacon, my heir, together with Eustathius the monk, both of them heretofore of my family, shall possess my manor of Arianzum, which came to our family as part of Reginus’s estate. As for the breed-mares, and the sheep, which, when I was there, I commanded to be delivered to them, the full and absolute disposal whereof I committed to them, I will that they enjoy them undisturbed by the right of lordship and dominion. Moreover, it is especially my will, that Gregory the deacon, and my heir, who has so faithfully ministered to me, shall by a peculiar right of dominion have fifty pieces of gold.

“To the venerable virgin Russiana, my kinswoman, I have commanded a certain yearly allowance to be paid for her liberal maintenance, which my will is, shall, according to the form of settlement, be duly and without delay paid her every year. And whereas hitherto I could determine nothing concerning her habitation, not knowing in what place she had most mind to settle; now my will is, that wheresoever she shall choose, an house be provided for her, suitable to her quality, and to the modest and honest conversation of a virgin, which she shall have to her use without any molestation during her life, but after her decease it shall return to the church. I will also that she have two maidens, such as she shall choose, who shall stay with her while she lives; and whom, if they desire it, she shall have power to make free, otherwise they also shall belong to the church.

“Theophilus, my servant, who now waits upon me, I have manumitted, and will that a legacy of five *nomismata* be paid him. I also set at liberty his brother Eupraxius, to whom I bequeath five pieces of gold. I will likewise that Theodosius, my notary and amanuensis, have his freedom, and that a legacy of five pieces of gold be given him also.



“My will is, that pardon be begged of my dear niece Alypiana,<sup>p</sup> (for the other two, Eugenia and Nonna, their conversation is such, as not to challenge any great regard from me,) that I could leave her nothing, having already settled all upon the poor, or rather herein performed the will of my blessed parents, who so designed it, to defeat whose intentions were neither just nor safe. Whatever remains of my brother Cæsarius’s wardrobe, either silk, linen, or woollen, or horse-trappings and ornaments, I will that they be bestowed upon my said niece’s children, and that neither she nor her sisters do, upon that or any other account, create any trouble either to my heir or to the church.

“As for my kinsman (ὁ γαμβρός μου) Meletius, let him know that he holds the farm at Apenzinsum, which was Euphemius’s, by an unjust title. Concerning which, I have heretofore often written to Euphemius, charging him with carelessness and cowardice, if he did not recover it. And by these presents I testify to all magistrates and people, that Euphemius is greatly wronged, and that the farm ought to be restored to him.

“I will, that the purchase of the farm at Canotala be delivered up to my son, the most reverend bishop Amphilochius. For it appears from my papers, and it is what every one knows, that the contract was discharged, and that I received the money, and long since gave him up the propriety and right of possession.

“To Evagrius the deacon, who has been partaker with me in my many labours and sufferings, and who in so many instances has endeared his kindness to me, I return hearty thanks before God and men, and for greater things God reward them into his bosom. But that I may not leave him without some small testimony of my respect and love, my will is, that he have given him, one frieze coat, one tunic, two cloaks, and thirty pieces of gold. Item, I give to our dear brother and fellow-deacon Theodulus, one coarse frieze garment, two of our country-coats, and twenty pieces of gold according to the rate of our own country. Item, To Elaphius the notary, a good man, and who, while he attended my service, was very diligent and useful to me, I bequeath one frieze garment, two coats, three cloaks, one single unlined garment, and twenty pieces of gold of the money of our own country.

<sup>p</sup> Τὴν θυγατέρα.

“This my testament I will shall stand firm and valid in all courts, and before all tribunals; or if it take not place as a testament, yet as my last will, or as a codicil, I require that it take place. And whoever shall attempt to overthrow it, shall give an account for it at the day of judgment, and receive his reward.

“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; I, Gregory, bishop of the catholic church at Constantinople, have reviewed this my will and testament, and having approved all things in it, have subscribed it with my own hand, and do will and command that it be of full force and power.

“I, Amphilochius, bishop of the catholic church at Iconium, was present at the making the will of the most venerable bishop Gregory, and, being requested by him, have subscribed it with my own hand.

“I, Optimus, bishop of the catholic church at Antioch, (in Pisidia,) was present when the most reverend bishop Gregory made the above-written testament, and at his request have subscribed it with my own hand.

“I, Theodosius, bishop of the catholic church at Ida, was present at the testament of the most venerable bishop Gregory, and at his request subscribed it with my own hand.

“I, Theodosius, bishop of the catholic church at Apamea, was present, &c.

“I, Hilary, bishop of the catholic church at Isauria, was present, &c.

“I, Themistius, bishop of the catholic church at Adrianople, was present, &c.

“I, Cledonius, presbyter of the catholic church at Iconium, was present, &c.

“I, John, reader and notary of the most holy church at Nazianzum, have transcribed and published the copy of the sacred will and testament of Gregory, the holy and famous divine, which was recorded and laid up in the venerable church committed to my charge.”

IV. This will (as appears from the date of the consuls, and some other passages in the instrument itself) was made not long before his resignation of the see of Constantinople, probably upon occasion of that weak sickly condition he was then in. Though

whether the month mentioned in the date be not mistaken, and January put for June, we have before observed cause enough to suspect, and indeed to conclude in the affirmative. Several of the legacies bequeathed in it, immediately relate to the habits and customs of his own country of Cappadocia, and the places where his relations were and his estate lay, without the knowledge whereof it is no easy matter readily to understand them. And it is no small justification of the truth and sincerity of this record, that he so oft elsewhere mentions his divesting himself of his estate, and settling it upon the poor. Eight years he lived after his making of this will, and died in his own country, and (probably) where he was born, at his own house at Arianzum. St. Jerome, who finished his catalogue anno 392, says, that he died three years before that time, that is, anno 389 : at what time he was arrived, says Gregorius the presbyter, at a very great age. And it must needs be so, if it be true what Suidas reports, that he lived above ninety years, and died in the thirteenth of Theodosius, anno 391. But how this can be reconciled with his being but thirty years old (which himself affirms) when he was at Athens, anno 354, I see not. It remains then according to this account, and the date of his death assigned by St. Jerome, that he was sixty-five years of age at the time of his death.

V. As to his person, he (as Simeon Metaphrastes tells us<sup>p</sup>) was of a middle stature, of a sweet and pleasant countenance, somewhat pale, but withal of a graceful and amiable look, his nose a little flat and low, his eyebrows grew upright, his right eye, which a scar had contracted, looked a little heavy, his beard short but thick, and black in the upper part of it. He was in a great measure bald, what hair he had being milk-white. His image, made to the life, was after his death (though not till some ages after) set up in the church, where it was worshipped (they say) with great veneration, and became famous for working miracles; particularly that of Constantine the son of Leo Armenus the emperor,<sup>q</sup> who, being struck dumb, by the help of it recovered his speech. But the best of it is, we are not to be taught at this time of day, what credit to give to reports of that nature, started in the middle and latter ages of the church, and what artifices were used after the time of the second Nicene

<sup>p</sup> Inter testim. vet. opp. Naz. prefix.

<sup>q</sup> Cedren. compend. hist. in vit. Mich. Balb. p. 497.



council to justify the doctrine, and to buoy up the reputation of image-worship. Nor does Cedrenus (whatever Baronius affirms in this case) say,<sup>r</sup> that Constantine worshipped the image, but that he prayed to God and St. Gregory, whose image was in that place. But, whatever he might do after his death, we are sure he did great things while he was alive. His soul was seasoned with an early sense of religion, and the seeds of piety, which his good mother sowed betimes, grew up, and produced answerable fruits, and the whole course of his life was but an accomplishment of that solemn vow which she made to God before he was born, that she would entirely resign him up to him. There was nothing too hard which he could not cheerfully suffer, no interest too dear which he could not freely part with for God; and though he had excellencies and endowments that render a man great in the eye of the world, estate, honour, health, and learning, yet he professed this was the greatest advantage he reaped by them,<sup>s</sup> that he had something that he could contemn, and by which he could shew how infinitely he valued Christ before them. Never was any less a slave to the world,<sup>t</sup> whose frowns and charms he equally despised and shunned; never any more truly observed the just measures of strictness and abstinence, of mortification and self-denial. He was of a temper extremely averse to flattery and servility,<sup>u</sup> and, of the two, chose rather to be censured for a clown than a courtier, sparing none, but smartly reproving his best friends when they did amiss. And therefore, when some of them expected thanks for the mighty zeal they had shewed for his advancement to the see of Constantinople, he treated them with so much sharpness for that unkind piece of friendship, that they afterwards flew off, and became his enemies. His charity was boundless, and he cared not within how narrow circumstances he confined himself, so he might but enlarge those of the poor, whom he plentifully relieved all his life, and at his death settled a very considerable estate upon them. He loved his enemies, (whom his zeal, and the stiffness and bluntness of his temper, had raised up to him in no small numbers,) and treated them with all softness and gentleness, and could more easily forgive an injury than another man commit it. He pas-

<sup>r</sup> Ad Ann. 389.

<sup>s</sup> Orat. i. p. 32.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Orat. xxvii. p. 468. et Carm. i. de reb. suis, vol. ii. p. 32.

<sup>u</sup> Orat. xxvii. p. 465. Vid. Ep. cxci. p. 389.

sionately studied the peace of the church,<sup>v</sup> and unity amongst Christians, which with all his interest and eloquence he endeavoured to promote wherever he came; and he glories in it as the ancient and honourable temper of his church at Nazianzum,<sup>w</sup> that it was not rent in pieces by schisms and factions, and was therefore frequently called Noah's ark, because they had kept alive among themselves the seeds of true peace and piety, and had alone escaped that universal deluge of dissension and disorder that had overflowed the Christian world. Nothing troubled him so much as to see Christians clashing with one another, for whose reunion he professed he could willingly fall a common sacrifice; and therefore, when he considered the admirable lives of the Macedonian party, in a mighty transport of zeal, he "wished himself accursed from Christ,"<sup>x</sup> and ready to undergo the most direful sentence, so they might but close with the consubstantial faith, and be reunited to the catholic church. While engaged in the disputes (as he all along was) of that quarrelsome and contentious age, he managed himself with all imaginable calmness and patience, and overcame his adversaries not more by the goodness of his cause and the strength of his reasons,<sup>y</sup> than by the sweetness and the mildness of his temper. He did not encounter them with fierce clamours and virulent revilings, like many, who, instead of reason and argument, vomit up nothing but bitter calumnies and reproaches, and hide a bad cause under noise and scuffle; just (says he) like the fish *sepia*, which being in danger to be taken by the fisherman, throws out abundance of black matter, which discolouring the water all about, it safely escapes under that covert. No, he made it appear it was the cause of Christ he contended for, while he closely imitated him, who was so meek and peaceable, and "endured the contradiction of sinners against himself." Though it cannot be denied, but that sometimes, especially in his invectives against Julian, his vein of oratory (which he indulges upon all occasions) meeting with a mighty zeal and concernment for religion, transported him now and then to passionate aggravations, and to treat the memory of that great prince with less decency and respect, than what a calmer and more unprejudiced consideration of things would have obliged him to. But that was a case

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Orat. xiv. p. 214.

<sup>w</sup> Orat. xii. p. 196. xix. p. 297.

<sup>x</sup> Orat. xliv. p. 711.

<sup>y</sup> Orat. xxxii. p. 518.

extraordinary, nor do I question but that, had he foreseen the ill consequences of such rash and warm transports, he would as readily have retracted them as he gave vent to them. However, even in ordinary cases, his love to peace did not prejudice his zeal for truth,<sup>z</sup> from which no considerations were strong enough to draw him; in defence of the catholic doctrine he prayed and preached, wrote and disputed upon all occasions, and was not scared either with the malice, or number, or greatness of his enemies. He wanted neither fair proposals on the one hand, nor threatenings, and the most severe and rugged usage on the other, but he equally defied both, and made good what he so earnestly desired,<sup>a</sup> that he might be able, with all freedom and impartiality, to maintain that confession of faith which the ancient fathers had committed as a noble *depositum* to the church, to the last minute of his life. He was (to say no more than what one who best knew him says of him <sup>b</sup>) *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς, καὶ φρέαρ βαθύ, στόμα Χριστοῦ*, “a chosen vessel, a profound treasure, and the mouth of Christ;” and justly deserved the character Rufinus gives of him,<sup>c</sup> that he was in all things an incomparable person, eminent both for his doctrine and his life, the greatest light of the church, who taught what he practised, and practised what he taught.

VI. These divine and excellent qualities were attended with the natural graces of a sublime wit, subtle apprehension, clear judgment, an easy and ready elocution; and all these set off with as great a stock and furniture of human learning, as the schools of the East, as Alexandria, or Athens itself was able to afford. At his being there he had grown up into so universal an esteem and reputation, that he was become the glory of the university, and the talk of the town and country, and even in that eye of the world had the professor’s chair forced upon him. And afterwards, when he applied himself to the study of theology, and did, *τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τοῖς ἔξωθεν παιδευθεῖσαν λόγοις, τοῖς θείοις ἐξευγενίζειν*, as himself speaks,<sup>d</sup> “ennoble his tongue with divine learning, and eloquence, which he had enriched before with human ornaments,” he attained to so great accuracy and perfection in it, that his judgment was in a manner made the standard and rule of orthodoxy, he being the only person,<sup>e</sup> whose faith

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Orat. i. p. 34.

<sup>a</sup> Orat. vi. p. 141.

<sup>b</sup> Basil. Epist. viii. s. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Prolog. in opp. Naz.

<sup>d</sup> Orat. xxvii. p. 466.

<sup>e</sup> Rufin. Prolog. in opp. Naz.



even the dissenting parties among themselves could not call in question, having obtained this honour both with God and man, that whoever presumed to oppose his doctrine, was for that very reason judged an heretic, it being accounted a plain evidence of a man's unsoundness in the faith, who in any thing materially differed from him. So even and well-poised his judgment in the weightiest cases, so sublime his speculations in the abstrusest articles, so exact and critical his determinations in the nicest controversies, so ready and apposite his citations out of the holy scriptures, so accurate and eloquent his sermons, that he seemed born for this as his peculiar province,<sup>f</sup> and hence had the title of *ὁ Θεολόγος*, "the divine," by unanimous consent fixed upon him, a title besides himself never communicated to any but St. John the Evangelist; a title which he has uncontrollably borne through all ages to this day. In all his discourses there breathes a singular vein of seriousness and devotion, and it is hard to say which a man ought to admire most, his eloquence or his piety. There is a strange smartness and briskness in his periods, his sentences are short and quick, and comprehend a vast deal of incomparable sense in a few words, and yet neither does the shortness of his periods prejudice the excellency of his argument, nor the sublimeness of his argument make his discourse obscure and unintelligible. Whatever the subject be he takes in hand, whether in the persuasive, encomiastic, or forensic way, he always manages it to the utmost perfection of its kind, seldom or never descending below the accustomed majesty and sublimity of his discourses. It is this renders his tracts so incapable of being translated with any proportion of accuracy to the original; and Erasmus, to whom the Western church is so much indebted for his emendations and versions of the ancient fathers, confesses,<sup>g</sup> he was altogether affrighted and discouraged from attempting the translation of Nazianzen, from the acumen and smartness of his style, the grandeur and sublimity of his matter, and those somewhat obscure allusions that are frequently interspersed among his writings. In the vein and character of his speaking he much imitated Polemon of Laodicea,<sup>h</sup> professor of rhetoric at Smyrna, and tutor to Aristides the famous orator; and one who

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Philoth. Patr. Const. encom. SS. Bas. Greg. et Chrys. in Bibl. patrum, Gr. Lat. vol. ii. p. 330. ed. 1624.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. xxvi. Epist. 33.

<sup>h</sup> Hieron. de Script. in Naz. Suid. in γ. Γρηγόρ.

was long before them both, Isocrates of Athens, whom he seems peculiarly to have propounded for his imitation. He was perhaps the only person (as a learned patriarch has observed<sup>i</sup>) that attained to the true temper of the Grecian eloquence, the *fucus*, and the affected and trifling part whereof he slighted, digesting only what was pure and simple, grave and chaste, and thereby gave new laws to eloquence, and introduced a better idea and form of speaking than the world had generally known before. Philostorgius, (who lived partly at that time, and who, as he was able to judge, so cannot be suspected partial in his censure, being no great friend to any of the catholic side,) comparing together that triumvirate of learned Homoeusiasts, Basil, Gregory, and Apollinaris, who all flourished at the same time, makes no scruple to give sentence for Nazianzen. “Apollinaris, (says he,<sup>k</sup>) being advantaged by his skill in Hebrew, was fitter for commentaries upon the scripture; Basil excelled in the panegyric way; but with respect to both, Nazianzen must be allowed to have a more noble and excellent style, being more fluent and copious than Apollinaris, and more firm and solid than Basil.” I do not deny but St. Basil’s style is more smooth and easy, more unforced and natural; but, withal, Nazianzen’s is more lofty and masculine, more sententious and periodical; and upon the whole matter, considering the profoundness of his learning, the grandeur of his eloquence, the smartness of his wit, the gravity and substantialness of his sense, I doubt not to affirm, that as he lived in the most learned age of the church, so he was the best scholar of his age. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that now and then he too far indulges the vein of oratory, especially in his encomiastics, wherein he sometimes takes a liberty of making addresses to the dead,<sup>l</sup> which succeeding times, when superstition began to advance with a quicker pace, improved into formal invocations, and downright prayers to departed saints. But then it is to be considered, that as he does not assert this dogmatically, but expresses himself with doubtfulness and hesitancy, (εἰ τὶς αἰσθησῆται, “if there be any sense in departed souls of things here below,”) so it is done *more oratorio*, according to the liberty which orators are wont to take, who tie not up them-

<sup>i</sup> Philoth. loc. citat.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. viii. c. 11. et ap. Suid. in v. Γρηγόρ.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Orat. iii. p. 50. xix. p. 288. 314. xx. p. 372. xxii. p. 397. xi. p. 189. xviii. p. 286.

selves to strict nice rules, especially his great master Isocrates, who more than once uses such schemes of speech,<sup>m</sup> and from him probably he borrowed them, as his own Greek scholiast long since noted in this very case." Besides his skill in theology, philology, philosophy, and rhetoric, he was, says Suidas, τὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν δέξιος, "eminent in poetry," wherein he wisely employed his talent to the common use and benefit of Christians: witness his incomparable poems in all kinds of verse, and upon all serious and useful arguments, composed to the envy and admiration of the best men among the heathens: so that it was not untruly said of him, that though he had arrived to no considerable eminency in his other writings, yet his very poems, so much above those of the ancients, would have proclaimed him to have been a great and an extraordinary person. His works have in all ages met with a just esteem and veneration, and by all men of wisdom and judgment have been admired and magnified, and held inimitable, and especially his theological orations have been accounted (says Philotheus<sup>o</sup>) nectar or ambrosia, and in the holy language, divine "manna" and "the bread of angels." And it seems not a little strange to me, that the great and the learned Photius, whom nothing escaped that fell within the ordinary road of learning, should have noted nothing out of the writings of this venerable father; nor do I believe any other account of it can be given, than that he did it in some part of that work that has miscarried, or at least in those private conferences wherein he was wont to recite to his brother, and some select friends, the summary recapitulation of what books he had read, (as he tells us in his letter to his brother Tarasius,<sup>p</sup>) the present *bibliotheca* being but an account of what authors he had recited at those meetings, when Tarasius was absent. Two considerable advantages Nazianzen has had beyond most of the ancient fathers; one, that few supposititious tracts have been entitled to him, and those few not unworthy of his great name; the other, that not many of his books are lost, most (if not all) of what he wrote being (for any thing we know) still extant. Whereof in the last place we proceed to present the reader with this following account.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Isocr. Evagor. in init.

<sup>n</sup> In στρηλιτευτ. α. p. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Patr. encom. etc. in bibl. patrum, Gr. Lat. vol. ii. p. 331. ed. 1624.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. Præfix. Biblioth.



## His Works.

*Genuine.*

Apologeticus de fuga sua.  
 Oratio, postquam factus est Presbyter.  
 In Julianum Imper. Invectivæ duæ.  
 Oratio post reditum ex fuga.  
 Oratio ad Gregorium Nyssenum.  
 Apologeticus cum Sasimorum Episcopus factus est.  
 Oratio, cum cura Eccles. Nazianz. ei commissa est.  
 Oratio de suis sermonibus, et ad Julianum exæquatorem.  
 Oratio funebris in laudem Cæsarii fratris.  
 Oratio funebris in laud. sororis suæ Gorgoniæ.  
 De pace Orationes tres.  
 Oratio in plagam grandinis.  
 Oratio de pauperum amore.  
 Ad cives Nazianz. gravi timore perculosos, et præfectum irascentem.  
 Oratio in laudem Cypriani Martyris.  
 Oratio funebris in laudem patris sui.  
 Oratio funebris in laud. Basilii magni.  
 Oratio in laudem magni Athanasii.  
 Oratio in Machabæorum laudem.  
 Oratio in laudem Heronis, *revera*, Maximi Cynici.  
 Oratio in Ægyptiorum adventum.  
 Oratio ad Arianos, et de seipso.  
 Oratio de moderatione in disputationibus servanda.  
 Ad eos, qui ipsum Cathedram CP. affectare dicebant.  
 Oratio, post reditum in urbem.  
 Oratio de dogmate, et constitutione Episcoporum.  
 Oratio habita in electione Eulalii Doaren-sium Episcopi.

In illud, "Cum consummasset Jesus hos sermones," etc.  
 Oratio in præsentia 150 Episcoporum habita.  
 De Theologia Orationes quinque.  
 Oratio Panegyrica in Christi nativitatem.  
 Oratio Panegyrica in S. Lumina.  
 In Sanctum Baptisma.  
 In Pascha, et in tarditatem.  
 Orat. secunda in pascha.  
 In novam Dominicam.  
 In Sanctam Pentecosten.  
 Orat. seu Epistola ad Nectarium CP. Episcopum.  
 In laudem Martyrum, et adv. Arianos.  
 Tractatus de fide. Latine.  
 Ad Cledonium Presbyterum Orat. seu Epistolæ duæ; Epistolæ aliæ 242.  
 Testamentum.  
 De vita sua carmine Iambico.  
 Poemata 64 varii argumenti carmine Heroico.  
 Alia 78 varii argumenti, et diverso metrorum genere.  
 De Episcopis, et de hominum ingratitude querela. Latine.

*Doubtful.*

Orat. seu Epistola ad Evagrium monachum de Divinitate.  
 Significatio in Ezechielem.

*Supposititious.*

Metaphrasis seu Translatio in Ecclesiastem; *quam Gregorii Thaumaturgi opus esse constat.*  
 Christus Patiens, Tragedia; *quam ab Apollinare Laodiceno scriptam esse verisimile est.*

# THE LIFE OF SAINT CYRIL,

## BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

His original uncertain. The first mention of him. The renown of Maximus bishop of Jerusalem. Cyril ordained presbyter of that church. Made catechist. His catechistic lectures, where read. The perplexed account of his succession to that see. The relation of it by St. Jerome. Imputations of Arianism unjustly charged upon him. Cleared by Theodoret and the synod at Constantinople. Another Cyril, in those days bishop of Jerusalem, mistaken for ours. What contributed to the mistake. The time of his entrance upon that bishopric. The miraculous appearance of the sign of the cross in the heavens stretching over Jerusalem. Cyril's letter to the emperor, giving an account of that apparition. Some remarks upon that letter. His quarrel with Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, about the metropolitie rights. The great reputation of the church of Jerusalem. Recriminations passing between Cyril and Acacius. Acacius in a Palestine synod deposes Cyril. Strange confusion about the persons succeeding in that see during the Arian prevalency. The different accounts given of this matter represented. A reconciliation of writers in this case impossible. Cyril mortally hated and undermined by Eutychius. The Arian intruders wholly omitted by Theodoret. Cyril's anti-remonstrance to Acacius's sentence, and appeal to the emperor. His retirement to Sylvanus bishop of Tarsus, and constant preaching there. His appearing at the synod at Seleucia, and referring his cause to the judgment of that council. His refusal to withdraw out of the synod as a person deposed. Acquitted and restored by the council. Acacius's complaint against him to the emperor. The crimes charged upon him, and aggravated by Acacius. He is again deposed, and banished. His return to the see under the reign of Julian. Julian's great kindness and favour to the Jews, and resolution to repair their temple, and restore their worship, upon what account. His letter to them to that purpose. His conference with their chiefs about this matter. What he propounded to himself in this design. Preparations made for the undertaking. Expenses allowed, and overseers appointed by the emperor. The vanity of this attempt declared to them by Cyril. Their endeavours in building frustrated by extraordinary storms, earthquakes, and fire from heaven. Black crosses impressed upon the clothes of the Jews. Many converted by these miraculous appearances and attestations. The Jews finding St. John's Gospel in a cave, at the clearing the foundations, reported by Philostorgius. The truth of the other particulars abundantly attested. Julian's command for the building an amphitheatre at Jerusalem. The elegant reflections which St. Chrysostom makes upon this disappointment of the Jews. Cyril's flight, and return a little before the death of Valens. He prefers his nephew Gelasius to the see of Cæsarea. Gelasius, who. Cyril's presiding with others in the second general council. His public vindication by the testimony of that synod.

The time of his death. The description of his person. His character. The catechetical lectures, his only remaining works. The genuineness of them unjustly questioned. Some exceptions against them considered. Abatements to be made for the plainness and rawness of them, and the inaccuracy of some expressions. The main design of them to explain the creed. What that creed was, then used in the church of Jerusalem. His writings.

It has been no small unhappiness to the church, that the acts of so many great and illustrious persons have been either wholly buried in silence, or that very short and imperfect notices have been transmitted to us. Such among others has been the portion of this excellent bishop, concerning whom the records of the ancient church have preserved few memorable passages, and a great part of those, too, so intricate and confused, that I should not have thought it worth either my pains, or the reader's patience, to pick them up, had I not hoped, by collecting the scattered parcels of his story, to reflect some light upon them, and to free his name from some gross imputations which ignorance or mistake have laid upon it. Who his parents were, or what his country, is not known, though there can be no incongruity to suppose him born in Palestine, and perhaps at Jerusalem, which I find positively asserted by a late writer,<sup>a</sup> led thereunto, I believe, by no other authority than bare conjecture. The first time we meet with him is under Macarius, the venerable bishop of Jerusalem, a man of prime note in the council of Nice, highly honoured by Constantine the Great, and particularly employed by him in his magnificent structures at Jerusalem. By him Cyril is said to have received his first ordination,<sup>b</sup> that is, probably, to the office of a deacon; though, I must confess, the passage in Sozomen, (as now extant in the Greek,) as it is miserably transposed, so being tolerably restored, seems more naturally to refer to Maximus's than Cyril's ordination. Macarius dying, Maximus succeeded in that see about the year 331: a man of great name and deserved reputation, having been a confessor under the Maximian persecution,<sup>c</sup> where, according to the cruel usage of those times, he had lost his right eye, and been disabled in his right leg, the nerves of it being cut asunder. Nor was he a more resolute defender of the Christian faith against the heathens,

<sup>a</sup> Alegr. de vir. illustr. O. Carmelit. ad Ann. 336.

<sup>b</sup> Sozom. l. iv. c. 20. Vid. Vales. Annot. p. 126.

<sup>c</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 27.



than he was of the catholic truth against the Arians, for which he was not a little maligned and opposed by that busy and potent faction. By him Cyril was ordained presbyter,<sup>d</sup> and under him he exercised the office of catechist in that church: a place of great trust, and which he discharged with answerable care and diligence, preaching, in Lent especially, almost every day. And here it was that he read those catechetic lectures of his that are still extant, which St. Jerome says he composed in his younger years;<sup>e</sup> and though he tells us not the just time, yet Cyril himself gives us an hint, by which we may make a very near conjecture. For, speaking concerning the rise of the Manichean heresy,<sup>f</sup> he says, it began just seventy years before, under the reign of Probus; and that there were some then alive who had seen the heretic. Now supposing, what Eusebius plainly asserts,<sup>g</sup> and justifies by the concurrent computation of the several Eastern epochs, that Manes began to broach his heresy in the second year of the emperor Probus, that is, Ann. Chr. 277, the seventy years will fall in exactly with anno 347, at what time he preached those lectures to the catechumens.

II. This exercise he probably continued till his promotion to the bishopric, which happened about three years after, upon Maximus's being deposed by the Arians, as some say; upon his death, say others, and perhaps more truly. And here we must encounter with the most perplexed and intricate part of his story, I mean his succession to that see, together with the several vicissitudes and alterations that depend upon it, so brokenly and imperfectly represented by the writers of that and the following age, that little certainty can be picked up about it. The account is confusedly hinted by others, but most consistently delivered by St. Jerome<sup>h</sup> to this effect; that upon Maximus's death, Acacius bishop of Cæsarea, and some others of the Arians, offered Cyril the see of Jerusalem, upon condition that he should renounce the ordination that he had received of Maximus, which he did accordingly, and served in that church in the capacity of a deacon, and for this was rewarded with that bishopric; who thereupon subtly circumvented Heraclius, whom Maximus upon his death-bed had made his successor, whom he divested

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 349.

<sup>e</sup> De script. in Cyril.

<sup>f</sup> Cyr. Catech. vi. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Chron. ad Ann. 2293.

<sup>h</sup> Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 349.

of his episcopal dignity, and reduced to the station of a presbyter. To this others add, that in order to this design he was guilty of strange compliances with the Arians; that he sometimes varied in matters of faith,<sup>i</sup> and often in point of communion; that he was infected with the Macedonian heresy,<sup>k</sup> which he afterwards recanted; nay, that he was as zealous for the Arian impieties,<sup>l</sup> as his predecessor had been for the catholic truth. These are the most material parts of his charge, to which I must needs enter my dissent, and doubt not to affirm, that as they are fastened upon him, they are built upon ignorance or mistake. Were there nothing else, it is enough that he is vindicated by the deposition of those who were as capable to know the true state of things as St. Jerome, or any of the rest. Theodoret,<sup>m</sup> speaking of his entering upon the see of Jerusalem, says, "he was a most stout and vigorous defender of the apostolic doctrine;" and the fathers of the great council at Constantinople, in their synodical letter to pope Damasus,<sup>n</sup> style him "the most reverend and most religious bishop Cyril;" and assure us, that he had been rightly and canonically ordained by the bishops of that province, and had in several places suffered many very hard things from the Arian party. Than which, what could have been spoken more plain and pertinent in his justification? One such authentic and unquestionable testimony, given by so many, and such venerable persons, all catholic bishops, who lived at the same time, and could not be ignorant of his affairs, who had then his company with them, and his cause before them, weighs more with me than an hundred reports taken up at second hand, and at a peradventure, by persons at a distance, who neither accounted it their interest, nor made it their business nicely to inquire into things, whether they were true or false. Not that I think the things we have mentioned to have been purely fictitious, but rather to have been blended together by a careless confounding of names and persons. Baronius,<sup>o</sup> from St. Jerome, tells us of four several Cyrils, about this time, successively bishops of Jerusalem; but it is plain, the cardinal mistook St. Jerome, who speaks but of one and the same person succeeding four times during the interruptions made

<sup>i</sup> Rufin. l. i. c. 23.<sup>k</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 7. Vid. Socrat. l. v. c. 8.<sup>l</sup> Script. vit. Athan. Gr. Lat. ap. Athan. vol. ii. p. 535. ed. 1600.<sup>m</sup> Lib. ii. c. 26.<sup>n</sup> Ap. Theodor. l. v. c. 9.<sup>o</sup> Ad Ann. 351. n. 26.

by the prevalency of the Arian faction. However, Epiphanius comes in seasonably to our relief, who, besides ours, tells us of another Cyril about the same time bishop of that see,<sup>p</sup> succeeding Herennius, as he did our Cyril. And upon him, I doubt not, a great part, if not the whole, of the ill things we speak of must be discharged, the identity of names, conformity of times, and relation to the same place, laying an easy foundation of mistaking the one for the other. And perhaps it might not a little contribute to the mistake, not only that Acacius of Cæsarea, being metropolitan of that province, Cyril could not canonically be ordained without his consent, but that Cyril himself was sometimes forced, by the necessity of those times, to hold some kind of correspondence with Basil of Ancyra, and other heads of the Homoiousian or Semiarian party, and that only in point of mutual assistance, not in joining with them in their sentiments and opinions, for of that not the least footstep appears in story; nay, in that famous confession of faith, offered by them to the synod at Seleucia,<sup>q</sup> (where he was present, and had a great trial to come on, and did most openly side with the Semiarians,) though it was subscribed by forty-three bishops, and several of them of Syria and Palestine, yet is not his name to be found amongst them, nor any intimation of his consenting with them. I add no more, than that St. Jerome himself,<sup>r</sup> elsewhere speaking unquestionably of our Cyril, says no worse of him than this, that he was oft driven out of his church (understand him by the Arian interest) and restored again; and Nicephorus,<sup>s</sup> patriarch of Constantinople, in his catalogue of bishops, places him next to Maximus, and says, that he was banished by the Arians, and then mentions those that were set up in opposition to him.

III. Having thus cleared the way to his episcopal throne, which he entered anno 349, according to St. Jerome; 351, according to Baronius's computation; he had not sat long in it, when a memorable accident happened, that made a great noise at that time throughout the world. About the time of Constantius's expedition against Magnentius the usurper,<sup>t</sup> there appeared at Jerusalem in the heavens the sign of the cross, not

<sup>p</sup> Hæres. lxvi. c. 20.

<sup>q</sup> Ext. ap. Epiph. Hæres. lxxiii. c. 25.

<sup>r</sup> De script. c. 112.

<sup>s</sup> Chronograph. ap. Scal. chron.

<sup>t</sup> Sozom. l. iv. c. 5. Philost. l. iii. c. 26. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 112. Niceph. l. ix. c. 32. P. Diac. Hist. Miscell. l. xi. c. 7. Chron. Alex. ad Ann. Constant. xiv.



streaming forth like a comet, but in a solid and condensed body of light; in splendour exceeding the brightness of the sun, and being encircled with a rainbow, which in form of a crown compassed it round about. In length it reached from mount Calvary to mount Olivet, for the space of about fifteen stadia, or near two miles; and its breadth proportionable to the length. The sight was very terrible and surprising, and at once filled men with admiration and amazement; insomuch that the beholders came out of their houses, threw aside their work, and ran with their wives and children into the great cathedral, unanimously offering up their prayers and praises to Christ, and readily acknowledging this a great indication of his divinity. Nor did it want its due effect, both upon Jews and Gentiles, many of whom it brought over to the Christian faith. Philostorgius and some others report, that it was seen by both armies, (lying then in the plains of Pannonia,) to the great consternation of Magnentius and his party, and the no less encouragement of Constantius and his soldiers. But in this I must suspend my belief, both because Sozomen says the emperor heard of it but by report, and because the battle with and victory over Magnentius was not till the latter end of the year, many months after this apparition. It happened on the seventh day of May, about nine of the clock in the morning, it being then the Whitsun festival, the year after the consulship of Sergius and Nigronianus, (say the *Fasti Consulares* of Idatius, but mistake the day, which they make to be Jan. 30,) that is, anno 351; with whom agree all those who place it at the time of the Magnentian expedition, and Gallus's going unto Antioch. The news of this wonderful and extraordinary phenomenon by means of strangers, who at that time had repaired thither out of devotion to those holy places, was soon conveyed into all parts; but especially Cyril was careful to give notice of it to the emperor, to whom he presently despatched a letter, mentioned by Sozomen and others, wherein he gave him an account of the thing itself, with some remarks of his own upon it, the whole whereof we shall here insert.<sup>u</sup>

“To the most divinely-favoured and religious prince, Constantius the August, Cyril bishop of Jerusalem sendeth greeting.

IV. “These first fruits of my letters from Jerusalem, I send to your sacred majesty, being such as may become both you to

<sup>u</sup> Ext. in calc. *Cateches.* p. 305.

receive, and me to give: letters, not stuffed with flattering expressions, but which give account of divine and heavenly visions, not which insinuate themselves by rhetorical persuasives, but contain holy evangelical predictions, justifying their truth by the event of things. Others indeed of such things, whence they derive their lustre, may bring golden crowns, curiously beset with precious stones, wherewith they oft adorn your honourable temples: but we crown you not with earthly presents, things that arising from, are confined within the verge of this lower world, but we carefully convey to your notice the divine efficacy of those heavenly appearances, which have happened at Jerusalem in your reign. Not that by this means you may be brought out of a state of ignorance, and receive the first principles of the knowledge of God, (for such your improvements in piety, that you seem able to instruct others in matters of religion,) but that you may be the firmler established in those things which you are wont to discourse of; and that learning hence how much God has crowned your empire, derived to you as a paternal inheritance, with greater honours, and more divine and heavenly blessings, you may be the stronglier incited to offer up, at this time especially, the highest praises to the supreme Sovereign of the world, and be inspired with a greater vigour and courage against your enemies, being assured by these miraculous attestations, that God takes a particular care of your empire and government. In the time of your father Constantine, a prince beloved of heaven, and of blessed memory, the wholesome wood of the cross was found at Jerusalem, the divine goodness granting it as a peculiar favour to him, who set himself to embrace the true religion, that he should make discovery of the most concealed holy places. But in your time, sir, who have so far outgone in devotion and piety, God is pleased to grant prodigies, not any longer upon earth, but from heaven; I mean, the blessed cross of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, the trophy of his victory and triumph over death, which shining with extraordinary beams of light, was seen lately at Jerusalem. For upon these holy and festival days of Pentecost, May the seventh, about nine in the morning, a vast and miraculous cross, formed of light, appeared in the heavens, just over the holy Golgotha, extending itself to the sacred mount of Olives; seen not by one or two, but clearly and evidently by the

whole city; nor, as some may suspect, passing by only in a transient glance of fancy, but plainly visible to us below for very many hours together, by its lustre out-dazzling the bright beams of the sun; for otherwise being overcome, it must have been obscured by them, had it not darted out more powerful and refulgent rays of light to the eyes of the beholders, so that the whole city, struck with fear at the amazing accident, not without a mixture of joy and gladness, instantly repaired to the church, where you might see persons of all ages, young and old, men and women, yea the newly-married leaving their bridal chambers to come thither; Christians, both inhabitants and strangers, yea and great numbers of Gentiles from other parts; all of them with one mouth and one accord glorifying our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and the author of these miraculous operations; being convinced, by real experience, that the most holy Christian religion 'lies not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power,' and was not merely revealed by men, but witnessed to by God from heaven. Wherefore we, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, having beholden this miraculous prodigy with our eyes, with all thankfulness, as becomes us, do and will adore the great God, and his only begotten Son, and both have done, and still will in this holy place offer up our continual prayers for your government, so dear to heaven. I thought it not good therefore to suppress these heavenly visions in silence, but have made it my care to convey them to you as good tidings, and instances of the Divine benignity; that so, upon the good foundation of the faith already embraced, building a further knowledge of what has thus strangely and supernaturally come to pass, you may have a firmer assurance in our Lord Jesus Christ; being confident, according to your wonted trust, you may, as one that has God himself for your assistant, advance the banner of the cross, the greatest ground of rejoicing, and cheerfully produce the sign that was shewed in heaven; a representation, at whose appearance the heavens did greatly rejoice and triumph. This wonderful prodigy, most religious emperor, pursuant to the predictions of the prophets, and to the words of Christ recorded in the Gospel, is now fulfilled, and will hereafter be yet further fulfilled. For when our Saviour, in St. Matthew's Gospel, communicated to his blessed apostles the notices of future things,



and by them imparted them to others that conversed with them, he most evidently foretold it, saying, 'And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven.' This holy book of the Gospels, when, as you are wont, you take into your hands, you will find these predictions and testimonies written there; to which I beseech you, sir, attend with the greater care and diligence, by reason of those other things there described, and foretold by our Saviour, and which it concerns us with all fear narrowly to observe, lest we suffer damage from those adverse powers that watch against us. These first-fruits of my discourses, sir, I offer to you, being the first messages I send from Jerusalem; to you I offer them, the sincere and most holy worshipper, together with us, of Christ, the only begotten Son of God, who upon his cross at Jerusalem did, according to the holy scriptures, work out the salvation of all mankind, where he overcame death, and by his own precious blood expiated the sins of men, and gave spiritual life and immortality, and heavenly grace to all them that believed on him. Preserved by whose power and goodness, and daily blessed with greater and more eminent advances in piety, and enriched with the royal stem of a numerous issue; let God, the great King of the world, and the giver of all goodness, grant you a long, peaceable, and a prosperous reign, and watch over you, as a glory to Christians, and a blessing to the whole world; let him strengthen and adorn you with all virtue, that you may still shew your accustomed love and kindness both to the holy churches and to the Roman empire, and enrich you with larger rewards of piety. God Almighty grant you to us, most august and religious emperor, for many periods of peaceable years, and continue you happy and prosperous, a constant praiser and professor of the holy and consubstantial Trinity; to whom, as is most due, be all glory for ever and ever. Amen."

From this letter, besides the account it gives of the prodigy, and the reflections he makes upon it, we may observe three things with respect to Cyril himself. First, that this epistle was written not long after his entrance upon the bishopric of Jerusalem, being the first-fruits of his addresses to the emperor after his promotion to it. And indeed it must be penned not many months after, if Baronius has rightly fixed the time of his

consecration to that see, which he places anno 351, this letter being written about the month of May in that year. Secondly, that in the close of it he gives an evident intimation of his firm adherence to the Nicene faith, while he so earnestly prays that the emperor may ever own and honour *τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα*, “the sacred and coessential Trinity.” A plain confutation of those Arian compliances, which about this very time are charged upon him. And yet far stranger is the prejudice and partiality of some late writers,<sup>w</sup> who from this very epistle infer, either that Cyril was not the author of it, or if so, that he was an Arian heretic. Thirdly, that notwithstanding his declaration against flattery, yet he prudently uses very soft words, and smooth insinuations to the emperor, the better to sweeten his exasperated humour against the Catholics, which, by the artifices of the Arians, seldom failed to have a keen edge set upon it. And this was a course which many wise and good men made use of in their addresses to that emperor, who passionately loved commendation, and was, above other men, a fond admirer of himself. But to return.

V. Cyril was going securely on in the discharge of his pastoral cares, when great troubles and disturbances overtook him, the spring and first mover whereof was Acacius bishop of Cæsarea,<sup>x</sup> the main stickler for the Arian cause; who beheld Cyril not only as his adversary in point of opinion, but as a competitor in point of dignity. The truth is, Cyril, looking upon his own as an apostolic see, thought himself qualified to dispute with Acacius for the metropolitick rights. And herein it must be confessed he went beyond his line; for though all antiquity had paid a mighty reverence to the church of Jerusalem, as a church immediately instituted by our blessed Saviour, and that in a place which he had honoured with his birth, life, sermons, and miracles, and had made the stage of his bloody death; a see founded by the apostles, and from whence they issued out to propagate Christianity through the world, (in which respect it is styled “the mother of all churches” by the fathers of the second general council,<sup>y</sup>) a church frequented by persons of the highest rank in all ages, either out of curiosity or devotion; though upon all these accounts it had a singular

<sup>w</sup> Rivet. Crit. sac. l. iiii. c. 11.

<sup>x</sup> Sozom. l. iv. c. 25. Theodor. l. ii. c. 26.

<sup>y</sup> Ap. Theodor. l. v. c. 9.

reputation, and the bishops of it an honourable character fixed upon them, and this particularly ratified by the council of Nice,<sup>z</sup> as a thing derived from custom and ancient tradition; yet was not this honour granted to it by that council, but with a salvo to the rights of its own metropolis. Acacius, therefore, being a man of a daring and haughty spirit, could not brook the least competition, but fell upon Cyril with great heat and fury. And hence commenced that quarrel, which every day ripened into a wider breach. And now recriminations are passed on both sides, Cyril charging Acacius with Arianism, while he himself (says Sozomen) was suspected of joining with the Homoioussians, who held the Son to be of like substance with the Father; though Nicephorus, who follows Sozomen in this passage, says expressly, it was for that he addicted himself *τοῖς τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ στοιχοῦσιν*,<sup>a</sup> to those that maintained the *ὁμοούσιον*, or “consubstantial” doctrine. And this seems most probable; for why should Acacius quarrel with Cyril, for siding with the Homoioussians, when he himself, at every turn, appeared in the head of that party, though upon every new occasion he again deserted them, and joined with the high-flown Arians? And that he might yet further expose him, Acacius charged him, that in a time of raging famine at Jerusalem, when the poor people flocked to him for relief, after all the monies were spent, he had sold the vessels, utensils, vestments, and consecrated hangings of the church; and that one of the vestments had been found upon a woman’s back that belonged to the play-house by the very person that gave it, who examining where she had it, was directed to the merchant that had sold it, who confessed he bought it of the bishop: which, whether true or false, served well enough for a pretence to expose the good man to popular odium, and to make their proceedings against him pass more smooth and current.

VI. Upon these pretences (little and trifling causes they were, says Theodoret<sup>b</sup>) Acacius, in a convention of Palestine bishops of his own party, deposed Cyril, and drove him from Jerusalem. Who they immediately substituted in his room, is not agreed on all hands; some saying it was Eutychius, others Heraclius, others Herennius, or Erennis, or Arsenius, as it is diversely written. The truth is, there is a woful confusion and dis-

<sup>z</sup> Can. 7.<sup>a</sup> Lib. ix. c. 46.<sup>b</sup> Lib. ii. c. 26.



turbance in the succession of bishops in that see, from the time of Cyril's first deposition, till his final restitution; some creeping in as opportunity offered, others being thrust in by the power and interest of the Arian party. We shall here, once for all, present the reader at one view with the different accounts given in by the writers of that and the following ages.

*According to St. Jerome.<sup>c</sup>*

Cyrellus.  
Eutychius.  
Cyrellus 2<sup>do</sup>.  
Irenæus.  
Cyrellus 3<sup>do</sup>.  
Hilarius.  
Cyrellus 4<sup>to</sup>.

*According to Epiphanius.<sup>d</sup>*

Cyrellus.  
Erennis.  
Cyrellus alius.  
Hilarionus.

*According to Socrates.<sup>e</sup>*

Cyrellus.  
Heraclius.  
Hilarius.  
Cyrellus iterum.

*According to Sozomen.<sup>f</sup>*

Cyrellus.  
Herennius.  
Heraclius.  
Hilarius.  
Cyrellus iterum.

*According to Nicephorus Patr. Const.<sup>g</sup>*

Cyrellus.  
Arsenius.  
Heraclius.  
Hilarius.

In such confusion and variety it were a vain attempt to undertake a reconciliation, either to adjust the differences of the persons, or to fix the times of their several successions: a thing not possible in such a confusion of accounts, and where the records of the church have preserved little more than the bare names of the persons. The Eutychius (who in St. Jerome's account succeeds next to Cyril) was doubtless the same with him mentioned by Epiphanius,<sup>h</sup> and who was bishop of Eleutheropolis. He had been brought up under Maximus, Cyril's predecessor, and by him instructed in the right catholic faith. An eye he had upon the see of Jerusalem, and looked upon Cyril as the only person standing in his way; and though he did not openly discard the orthodox doctrine, yet he was content to conceal and dissemble it for a time, as a means to procure Acacius's favour in his advancement to that see. To him therefore he applied himself,

<sup>c</sup> In Chron. ubi supr.

<sup>d</sup> Hæres. lxvi. c. 20.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. ii. c. 45.

<sup>f</sup> Lib. iv. c. 30. ita et Niceph. Call. l. xi. c. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Chronogr. p. 312. ap. Scalig. Isagog. chronol. ad calc. thes. temp. Eusebii.

<sup>h</sup> Hæres. lxxiii. c. 23, etc.

and took part with him in his proceedings against Cyril, whom he mortally envied and maligned, opposing not only him, but all that stood by him and assisted him : and how they succeeded in their attempts, we shall see hereafter. I shall observe no more about this matter, but that Theodoret,<sup>i</sup> enumerating the bishops that sat in the five great patriarchal sees from the time of Constantine, in his list of them of Jerusalem wholly omits all these interloping bishops, and only puts down Cyril between Maximus, who went before him, and John, who succeeded him in that see.

VI. Two whole years Acacius continued to cite Cyril to appear ;<sup>k</sup> but he, well knowing what quarter he must expect from professed open enemies, refused the summons, whereupon the sentence was finally denounced against him. Immediately he published an anti-remonstrance, wherein he appealed from their judgment to that of a greater and more solemn judicature ; and his appeal, it seems, was allowed by the emperor. And though Socrates says, he was the first and the only person that by such an appeal transgressed the custom of the ecclesiastic law, (meaning, I suppose, the Nicene canons, that require all episcopal causes to be determined by the metropolitan and the bishops of the province,) yet was it no more than what the necessity of those times drove him to, and what had been heretofore allowed and practised in important cases. Being by this means forced to quit Jerusalem, he went first to Antioch,<sup>l</sup> but finding that church destitute of a bishop, he went thence to Tarsus, where he fixed his abode with Sylvanus, the venerable bishop of that place. Nor did he here indulge himself in ease and idleness, but preached constantly to the people. But malice, like the grave, is endless and insatiable ; Acacius no sooner understood where Cyril was, and of his kind reception, but he wrote presently to Sylvanus, and gave him an account of his being deposed, and thereby rendered incapable of communion. But he had too great a reverence for the man to entertain slight suggestions against him, and besides was unwilling to disoblige the people, who liked his doctrine, and were infinitely pleased with his eloquent sermons. So he continued in this station till the year 359, when Constantius summoned a synod at Seleucia. And now he thought he had a fit opportunity to bring his cause upon the public stage ;

<sup>i</sup> Lib. v. c. 40. in fin.<sup>k</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 40.<sup>l</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 26.

wherefore he appeared at the synod, and resolved to refer his case entirely to them. The main question at the opening of the council was, what should first come under debate, whether matters of faith, or the causes of the bishops who had been deposed, particularly of Cyril and some others, whose cases had been peculiarly recommended by the emperor. But it was carried for the former, that doctrinal controversies should be handled in the first place; and what the proceedings of the council were in that matter, we have elsewhere related. The issue was, that no composure being to be hoped for between the dissenting parties, Leonas, the imperial commissioner, who favoured the Acacian faction, after four several sessions, broke up and dissolved the synod. However, the catholic bishops, (who were but few,) together with Basil of Ancyra, Sylvanus of Tarsus, and the rest that opposed Acacius and his party, continued sitting, and cited Acacius and his followers to the synod, to make good their charge against Cyril and others, but they refused to come. Indeed, Acacius, at the very beginning of the council, had refused to take his place, unless Cyril, as a person deposed, were excluded the synod. And when some, out of an eager desire of peace, persuaded him to withdraw, assuring him, that as soon as they had discussed matters of faith they would proceed to the examination of his case, he refused, not knowing but his retiring might be interpreted an argument of his guilt, at least give his enemies too great an advantage against him. After several summonses to no purpose, the synod proceeded against the absent bishops: some they suspended from communion, till they had given satisfaction in the crimes charged upon them, among whom were Asterius, Eusebius, Eutychius, &c.; others they deposed, especially Acacius, the head of the party, George of Alexandria, Uranius of Tyre, and many more; nor is any doubt to be made (though the Acts of that synod mention it not) but they restored Cyril and the rest that had been deposed by the Acacian party.

VII. Things being thus managed in the council at Seleucia, while legates were preparing to carry an account to the emperor at Constantinople, Acacius was got thither before them;<sup>m</sup> who, having made his interest at court, and represented the Seleucian synod under a character bad enough, procured a little convention

<sup>m</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 41. Sozom. l. iv. c. 24, 25.



of neighbour bishops to be summoned to Constantinople, wherein he proceeded against the chief of the Seleucian fathers, but especially against Cyril. It was laid to his charge, that he had holden communion with Eustathius and Elpidius, who had endeavoured to subvert the decrees of the synod of Melitina, whereof he himself had been a principal member; that after his being deposed by the Palestine bishops, he had communicated with Basil of Ancyra, and George of Laodicea; that he had contested with Acacius of Cæsarea about the power and rights of the metropolitanship, pretending Jerusalem to be an apostolic see. But that which most exasperated the emperor against him,<sup>a</sup> was the story of his selling the dedicated vestments of the church, and their being by that means exposed to profane uses. For now the story was again dressed up, and set off with fresh aggravations; the emperor being told, that it was a rich cope, all wrought with gold, given by his father Constantine the Great, when he built that church, to Macarius the bishop, to be worn upon the greater festivals, when he celebrated the baptismal office; that this cope Cyril had exposed to sale, and that it had been bought by a common player, who dancing in it upon the public theatre, had fallen down, and with the fall bruised himself, and died. “And now, sir, (said Acacius,) see how fit those men are to judge and pass sentence upon others, that have such an assessor to join with them.” Having laid this load upon him, they proceeded next to censure and deprive him, and twelve others with him, whom they deposed and banished. Ten of the assembly refused to subscribe the decree for deposing these prelates, who for their obstinacy were presently suspended from all episcopal acts, either of ministry or jurisdiction, with further provision, that unless within six months they complied with the sentence and proceedings of the synod, they also should be deposed, and the bishops of the respective provinces choose others in their room. Notice whereof they immediately despatched to all places, with command, that the synodal orders should be observed and put into execution.

VIII. In this state of banishment, Cyril continued during the short remainder of Constantius's life, who died within less than two years after. Julian, who succeeded, among other acts of grace and favour, whereby he sought to recommend himself and

<sup>a</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 27.

his government to the people, restored the bishops that had been banished in the time of his predecessor :<sup>o</sup> an opportunity which Cyril, I doubt not, made use of to return to his own see. And indeed there we find him sitting in this emperor's reign, and that upon an occasion as memorable as any perhaps that the history of the church presents us with ; which, because I presume it may not be unacceptable to the reader, I shall here relate at large. Among the various methods whereby Julian designed to stifle, and, if possible, extirpate Christianity, he resolved once more to set up and advance the Jewish nation, not out of any kindness to them or their religion, but because he knew them to be of all others the most spiteful and inveterate enemies to Christians. He seemed to compassionate their hard fate, and unhappy circumstances, and promised them all encouragement and assistance in restoring of their worship, and retrieving the ancient splendour of their religion. To which purpose he sent them the following letter.<sup>p</sup>

“ Julian to the community of the Jews.

“The heavy taxes that have been unwarrantably laid upon you, and those vast sums of gold you have been forced to bring into the exchequer, have far exceeded those other oppressions and slaveries which in the times foregoing you have undergone : a great part of which I have seen with mine own eyes, and have discovered more from the writs that have been directed and issued against you. And at this time another assessment is prepared for you, which I have stopped and prohibited, and out of a detestation of so unrighteous an act, have burned the warrants that lay ready among my records to be sent out against you ; so that none may henceforth be able so much as to affright you with the report of such a piece of injustice. The cause of all which injuries is not so much to be attributed to my brother Constantius, of worthy memory, as to some men of barbarous principles and atheistical tempers, that stood about him, and were fed at his table ; whom I took with mine own hands, and threw them headlong into a deep pit, where they irrecoverably perished, that so the least monument might not remain of them. For my part, being resolved to shew you all the favour and kindness I can, I have advised your brother Julus, the venerable

<sup>o</sup> Theodor. l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Jul. Epist. xxv. p. 152.

patriarch, to stop the tribute that is said to be imposed upon you; and that no man henceforth, shall abuse your nation with such intolerable exactions, but that you may to all intents live peaceably and securely under my reign, and being free from farther trouble, may recommend the prosperity of my empire in your more vigorous and hearty prayers to God, the great Creator, and best of beings, who has been pleased, with his most holy right hand, to place the crown upon my head: a service which I cannot otherwise expect from you. For they who are oppressed with solitudes and cares, are wont to be persons of narrow and contracted minds, and cannot with that freedom lift up their hands to God in prayer, while those who are wholly freed from anxious cares, and enjoy a calm and composed state of soul, are fittest to intercede for the happiness of the empire, and to offer up their devotions to the great God, who alone is able to order and dispose my reign to the best advantage, and to the most excellent purposes, which I hope and pray he will do. This is that which you ought principally to attend, that so having successfully managed my Persian expedition, and the holy city of Jerusalem (which you have so long and so earnestly desired to see re-inhabited) being rebuilt by my endeavours, I may dwell in it, and together with you there offer up our joint prayers to the supreme Being of the world."

IX. This done, he sent for the heads of the Jewish nation,<sup>a</sup> of whom he inquired, why, since the law of Moses obliged them to offer sacrifices, they had laid aside that custom. They told him, the sacrifices of their law were determined to a particular place, and might not be offered up any where but at Jerusalem, where their temple was ruined, and whence they themselves had been long since banished. Hereupon, he commanded them forthwith to go and repair the temple, to retrieve the customs of their ancestors, and to worship God according to the laws and rites of their religion. Herein he drove on a double design: first to draw over the Jews to the pagan superstition, which he the rather hoped for, because both agreed in oblations and sacrifices, and that he observed the main body of the Jews took up

<sup>a</sup> Socrat. l. iii. c. 20. Sozom. l. v. c. 22. Theodor. l. iii. c. 20. Philost. l. vii. c. 9. Rufin. l. i. c. 37, 38, 39. Am. Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 1. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 111. Chrysost. Hom. iv. in Matth. s. l. vol. vii. p. 47. et Hom. xli. in Act. s. 3, vol. ix. p. 312.



in the letter and outside of their law, and understood little of the spiritual and mystical sense; and next he hoped to give a fatal wound to Christianity, and by restoring the temple and the Jewish worship, against which Christ had pronounced so flat a doom, to prove our Saviour a false prophet and impostor. The Jews, though they had had near two hundred years' sad experience of the truth of our Lord's prediction, yet received the warrant with a joy inexpressible, it being an opportunity which they had often wished, but could never hope for; and were so elated with it, that they began insolently to scorn and triumph over Christians, threatening to make them feel as direful effects of their severity, as ever themselves had heretofore done from the Roman powers. No sooner was the news spread abroad, but contributions came in from all hands, yea, the very women sold their jewels and ornaments to advance the work; and what was wanting, the emperor commanded should be allowed out of his own exchequer, appointing Alypius of Antioch (who had sometime been proprefect of Britain) overseer of the work, with power to call in the governor of the province to his assistance. And now all things were in readiness, the most exquisite artists drawn together from all parts, stone, bricks, and timber prepared, and all other necessary materials and instruments, nay, they are said to have made spades, mattocks, and baskets of silver for the greater honour to the work. In short, no help was wanting, even the softer and the weaker sex laid their hands to the work, and carried out the rubbish in their laps; yea, the very Gentiles refused not their assistance, merely out of opposition to the Christians. Cyril, the bishop, beheld all this, and calling to mind Daniel's prophecy concerning it, and how plainly it had been ratified by our Saviour, openly told them, that even now the time was come, that "not one stone should be left upon another" in that temple, but that the doom which our Lord had so peremptorily pronounced against it should be accomplished. And the event justified his prediction. For, having digged and cleared the foundation, on the next day, towards night, a sudden storm arose, that carried away those vast heaps of rubbish, which they had thrown into a neighbouring valley, and dispersed many thousand bushels of lime and sands which they had prepared for the building. This was followed with a dreadful earthquake, which cast up stones from the foundation,

and slew many, and overturned some adjoining houses that slew more, and those that escaped were drawn out with broken legs and arms, bruised and almost wounded to death. And when, notwithstanding all this, they still attempted to proceed, balls of fire broke as it were from under the foundation, and not only burnt their tools and instruments, but seized upon and consumed the workmen and spectators. The fright was great, and every man fled to save himself, and the main crowd drove towards a little church hard by, wherein they were wont to bestow their tools; but when they came to it, they found it suddenly shut and barred against them, (though there was no person within,) and when they attempted to break open the doors, a fire rushed out upon them, that destroyed many, and miserably scorched the rest, running up and down the streets a great part of that day. At night, the clothes of all the Jews had black crosses with stars between them impressed upon them; which when the infidels perceived in the morning, they endeavoured, but in vain, to wash them out, and thereupon partly afraid, partly ashamed, desisted and ran away. And though these strange and miraculous interposals of the divine power and providence brought over some, who, being baptized, sought by prayers and praises to atone him, whom heretofore they had blasphemed and affronted, yet the greatest part continued still in their ancient obstinacy and unbelief. Of so little force are miracles themselves to convert a people, without the concurrent efficacy of the divine grace to recommend them.

X. One thing more is related to this purpose. At the clearing the foundation,<sup>r</sup> a stone was taken up that covered the mouth of a deep four-square cave, cut out in the rock, into which one of the labourers being let down by a rope, found it full of water to the middle of the leg, and in the midst a pillar reaching a little above the water, whereon lay a book wrapped up in a fine and clean linen cloth. Being drawn up, the linen was observed to be fresh and unperished; and the book being unfolded was found, to the admiration of all, but especially the amazement of Jews and Gentiles, to contain the Gospel of St. John, with the first words in the front written in great capital letters, IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD, AND THE WORD WAS WITH GOD, AND THE WORD WAS GOD. This last passage, I must confess, stands

<sup>r</sup> Philost. l. vii. c. 14: et ex eo Niceph. l. x. c. 33.

upon the single authority of Philostorgius, but he ancient enough, being born within five years after the thing was done. But whatever becomes of this, we are sure the rest of the story is reported by persons of unquestionable credit and integrity, some of whom lived at that time, and the rest not long after; nay, the substance of it related by Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian's own historian, and what is yet more, confessed by the great chronologer of the Jewish nation.<sup>s</sup> Let me add what Orosius reports,<sup>t</sup> that Julian (probably finding himself defeated in his main design) commanded an amphitheatre to be built at Jerusalem, (out of the materials, it is like, prepared for the temple,) wherein, at his return from his Persian expedition, he might publicly expose the bishops, monks, and all the holy men of that place, and throw them to be devoured by wild beasts, prepared by art to greater degrees of rage and fierceness than nature had endued them with. But the divine goodness cut him off, and he fell into that pit which he had prepared for others.

XI. I cannot dismiss this story (wherein yet I have been too long already) without some of those reflections which St. Chrysostom makes upon it,<sup>u</sup> who thus improves the argument against the Jews. Having pressed them home with Daniel's prophecy, concerning the final and irrevocable destruction of their city and temple, he tells them he would make it good from matter of fact. "And because, (says he,) had the Jews never attempted to rebuild the temple, they might pretend that they could have done it, had they set about it, they attempted it no less than three several times: once under Adrian the emperor, when they brought a greater desolation upon themselves; next, under Constantine the Great, who not only dispersed them, but cut off their ears, and branded them with marks of rebellion upon their bodies; a thing which the more aged among them might yet remember. But (adds he) that which I am now going to urge them with, is what is plain and evident to the younger sort of them, not being done under Adrian or Constantine, but in an emperor's reign in our own time, not above twenty years ago. For when Julian, who in impiety outwent all before him, out of a design to pervert them to his idolatrous worship, put them in mind of their ancient rites

<sup>s</sup> Dav. Ganz. German. par. ii. p. 36. Vid. Hotting. Hist. Eccl. c. 4. §. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Hist. l. vii. c. 30.

<sup>u</sup> Adv. Jud. Orat. v. s. 11. vol. i. p. 645, etc.



and sacrifices, thus and thus was God worshipped by your ancestors, they ingenuously confessed, they could not do it out of Jerusalem, without offering an immediate violence to their religion ; ‘give us our city, restore the temple, let us see the holy of holies, let us have an altar, and then you shall quickly see us offer sacrifices, as our forefathers did of old.’ The wretches neither blushing to accept these things from a pagan, nor considering that they attempted what was impossible. Had man only destroyed them, man might have restored them ; but when it was God that laid waste their city, what human power was able to reverse the divine decree. ‘For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it ; and when his hand is stretched out, who shall turn it back ?’<sup>v</sup> But grant, sirs, the emperor should have restored the temple, and rebuilt the altar, as you vainly hoped he could ; could he also have brought down fire from heaven, without which your sacrifices would have been impious and unacceptable. However, the blind and obstinate wretches persisted in their supplications to the emperor, to join with them in the restoration of the temple ; who accordingly furnished them with money, sent them men of authority for overseers, and skilful artists from all parts, and left no stone unturned, that he might at once lay a foundation to seduce them over to idolatrous worship, and defeat the prediction of our Saviour. But he, who ‘taketh the wise in their own craftiness,’ soon let him see that the divine oracles are impregnable, and that nothing can undermine or overturn the decrees of God. For no sooner had they set upon this impious project, and began to carry out the rubbish, and clear the foundations, and things were now ready for the work, but a fire immediately broke out from under the foundations, that consumed the materials, together with the workmen, and the Jews that beheld it ; which when Julian heard of, fearing to pull down vengeance upon his own head, he left off the attempt. And if you go now to Jerusalem, you will see the foundations lying bare and naked ; and if you ask the reason, you will meet with no other account than what I have given. And hereof we are all witnesses ; for these things happened not long since, in our own time ; and consider what a firm and unshaken triumph they give to our cause. For they happened not in the reign of pious and christian emperors,

<sup>v</sup> Isai. xiv. 27.

lest any should pretend that Christians came with armed violence, and hindered the re-edification of the temple; no, it was then when our religion was under hatches, when we stood in danger of our lives, when all liberty so much as of speaking was taken from us, when Paganism flourished, when Christians were forced to hide themselves in their own houses, and others to fly into deserts and wildernesses; this was the time when these things happened, that so impudence itself might not have the least shadow of pretence. And after all this, dost thou yet doubt, O thou Jew, when thou seest the prediction of Christ, and the testimony of the prophets, and the event of things plainly demonstrating, and giving sentence against thee? But it is no wonder, for such has ever been the genius and temper of thy nation, shameless and contumacious, and always ready to oppose the most clear and evident demonstrations."

XII. Nothing further memorable concerning Cyril appears during Julian's reign, more than that the son of a Gentile flamen at Antioch,<sup>w</sup> having embraced Christianity, for which he was treated by his father with all imaginable severity, made a hard shift to escape in woman's habit; and being first sheltered by Meletius of Antioch, was by him conveyed by night into Palestine, to Cyril of Jerusalem, who securely harboured him while Julian lived, after whose death he became the means of converting his own father. How long Cyril sat quietly under the reign of Valens, when the Arian interest carried all before it, is uncertain. Probable it is, that towards the latter end of it he repossessed himself, and perhaps took hold of the edict which Valens published not long before his death, whereby he recalled the catholic bishops out of banishment; and about that time we find him there. For Sozomen, speaking of Theodosius's entering upon the government of the Eastern empire, tells us,<sup>x</sup> that the Arians at that time had possessed themselves of all the churches of the East, except Jerusalem; at which time, (says Socrates,<sup>y</sup>) Cyril did yet govern that church. About this time the see of Cæsarea in Palestine being invaded by several competitors, Cyril advanced his nephew Gelasius to that see:<sup>z</sup> a man (says Theodoret<sup>a</sup>) eminent both for his life and doctrine. This was that Gelasius<sup>b</sup> that translated Rufinus's two books of eccle-

<sup>w</sup> Theodor. l. iii. c. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Lib. vii. c. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. v. c. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Epiph. Hæres. lxxiii. c. 37.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. v. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Phot. Cod. LXXXIX.

siastical history, written as a supplement to Eusebius, into Greek, with a large preface of his own. But when it is added, that he undertook this work at the request of his uncle, and especially, what some report, that it was carried on by their joint endeavours, this is plainly impossible, Rufinus himself not writing that history till several years after Cyril's death.

XIII. In the third year of his reign, Theodosius summoned the famous council at Constantinople, one of the chiefs or presidents whereof (*ἡγέμονες* and *ἐξαρχοὶ*) was our Cyril. The acts of that synod we have related in the Life of Nazianzen; that which is here proper to remark, is the care they took of the three great sees, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. In the most ancient and holy apostolic church of Antioch, (as they call it,<sup>c</sup>) they placed Flavianus, as successor to Meletius, who died during the sitting of the council. At Constantinople they substituted Nectarius in the room of Nazianzen, who at the same time resigned that see. And then for the mother-church of Jerusalem, (so they style it,) they confirmed Cyril's right to that place, whom they honour with the title of a "most reverend and religious bishop." They knew he had been for many years opposed and persecuted, disgraced and deposed by the Arian faction, and therefore thought it but just to do him right, and, whatever malicious insinuations had been spread abroad to the contrary, to declare to all the world, that from the first he had been canonically ordained to that see, and had all along been a stout champion against the Arian cause. An account of all which, the year following, (when the greatest part of them again met in council at Constantinople,) they sent in a letter to pope Damasus, that so the Western bishops might be acquainted with the true state of things, and see that in all these affairs they had proceeded according to the rules and canons of the church. I give no heed to the Arabian writers,<sup>d</sup> who tell us, that in this synod, the see of Jerusalem was erected into a patriarchate, and the fifth and last place in the patriarchal dignity allotted to him: a thing not done till many years after. Five years he lived after that council, dying in the eighth year of Theodosius,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Theodor. l. v. c. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Eutyech. Annal. vol. i. p. 314. Joseph. Ægypt. Præf. in Conc. Const. vol. i. p. 702. Beveregii synod.

<sup>e</sup> Hieron. de script. c. 112.



anno 386, in a good old age, and in a time of great tranquillity and peace. For though the former part of his life was stormy and troublesome, yet God was pleased to grant him a calm and undisturbed repose during the last eight years of his life. It being sometimes true in a civil, no less than a spiritual sense, “Mark the perfect, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.”

XIV. In the Greek Menæon<sup>f</sup> he is described to have been a man of a middle size, of a pale complexion, very hairy, somewhat flat nosed, and of a full visage; his eyebrows growing upright, his cheeks well covered with white hair, his beard forked, and his whole mien and carriage importing an unpolished kind of rusticity. As to his outward life, he was a man that underwent great changes and varieties of fortune, passing through honour and dishonour, evil report and good report; sometimes shining in a place of great dignity and eminency in the church, otherwhiles deposed and banished and followed with all the rage and fierceness of implacable enemies, and yet going off the stage at last in a bright and serene evening. A man of no inconsiderable learning and eloquence, of an exquisite piety, of an unwearied patience, and quick zeal and resolution against the adversaries of the catholic faith; whose books, even those of the worst of heretics, he read in his younger years,<sup>g</sup> on purpose that he might fortify and confirm the minds of his auditors against the pernicious insinuation of their false doctrines. And though he has been accused, or suspected at least, of leaning to the Arians, yet how unjustly we have shewn before. And, indeed, he not only acknowledges the *ὁμοούσιον*, or “consubstantial” doctrine, (as we see in the close of his letter to the emperor,) but clearly condemns the Arian *dogmata*,<sup>h</sup> as the great apostacy of that age, and the forerunner of antichrist; men being (says he) betrayed by itching ears, and by smooth words and soft insinuations seduced over into a departure from the truth. His writings (which the ancients called *Cyrrillia*) were many, whereof few now remain but his Catechetical Lectures, the fruit of his younger years. The whole (besides the *προκατήχησις*, or preparatory lecture,) consists of twenty-three sermons, whereof eighteen were preached to the *competentes*, or those who stood candidates for baptism: the other five are mystagogical, preached

<sup>f</sup> Νοεμβρ. τῇ κγ'. sub. lit. μ.

<sup>g</sup> Catech. vi. s. 19.

<sup>h</sup> Catech. xv. s. 3. xi. s. 6.

to those who had lately been baptized,<sup>i</sup> wherein he fully and accurately explains to them the several parts, together with the particular rites and ceremonies (then used in the church) of the two great mysteries or sacraments of the gospel. To question whether they be his, (as some have done,) is foolish and trifling, when they are not only quoted by Damascene, but expressly mentioned by St. Jerome, and cited by Theodoret, the one contemporary with him, the other flourishing but a few years after him; besides that the date he fixes from the rise of the Manichæan heresy can agree to no other but himself. As for that passage, so much urged by some,<sup>k</sup> where he says, that the cross (which was found in the time of Constantine, the year after the Nicene council) is extant with us,<sup>l</sup> *μέχρι σήμερον*, "even to this very day," as if this must import the author lived at a vast distance of time from the finding of it; to this it might be enough to say, that there were at least twenty years between the discovery of the cross and this expression, time enough to justify such a speech at large. But Cyril speaks not concerning the discovery of our Saviour's cross, but that it had lasted several ages, and was still in being among them,<sup>m</sup> ready to be produced as a monument of the truth of our Lord's dying at Jerusalem: which is evidently his meaning in that place. And besides this, nothing can be plainer than that Cyril oft uses that phrase to imply no more, than *now*, or at this time. Thus speaking of the emperors having submitted themselves to Christianity, we see (says he") the princes of the world directed and taught by ecclesiastic persons, *μέχρι σήμερον*, "at this day;" which just before he had explained by *κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν*, "at this present time." And yet it was not then above forty years since Constantine first embraced the Christian faith. That now and then a passage should be less accurately expressed, is not to be wondered at by him that considers, that they were sermons preached in his younger days, and then too delivered without any curious art, any exquisite study or deliberation. In those lectures that he preached *ad illuminatos*, he admirably trains up persons for baptism, by instructing them in all the main grounds and principles of the Christian faith: wherein, like a wise and

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Catech. xviii. s. 14.

<sup>k</sup> Rivet. Crit. sac. l. iii. c. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Catech. x. s. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Ad eund. sensum vid. quæ habet Catech. xiii. s. 19. xiv. s. 12.

<sup>n</sup> Catech. xvii. s. 6.

good man, he accommodates himself to the genius and understanding of his hearers,<sup>o</sup> expressing himself in a plain and familiar style, without any pompous strains of eloquence, any profound arguments or philosophic reasonings, delivering his mind in easy and simple terms, backed with frequent texts out of the holy scriptures, studiously avoiding all elaborate compositions, and speaking for the most without any great premeditation; whence they are styled *κατηχήσεις σχεδιαθεῖσαι*, “extempore lectures.” But above all the preparatory parts of the Christian doctrine, he is careful to explain to them the several articles of the creed, into which they were to be baptized. He had in the fourth catechism given a short cursory explication of all the important articles that concern the three persons in the Trinity, which he afterwards runs over again, and insists upon at large in his explication of the creed. And because perhaps it may be both a pleasure and an advantage to the reader to know what creed it was that was used of old in the church of Jerusalem, (where the Christian faith had been first planted, and by whom it had been preserved through several ages,) this being the ancient Oriental creed mentioned by Rufinus, neither exactly the same with that settled by the synod of Nice, nor with that afterwards agreed upon in the council of Constantinople, we shall here, for a conclusion, pick up and put together the several articles of it according to the order wherein he expounds it, only premising, that the Constantinopolitan creed seems entirely to have been made up out of this and the Nicene, there being several expressions in this, which were afterwards adopted into that creed.

#### The Creed anciently used in the Church of Jerusalem.

“I believe in one God,<sup>p</sup> the Father,<sup>q</sup> Almighty,<sup>r</sup> Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;<sup>s</sup> And in one Lord Jesus Christ,<sup>t</sup> the only begotten Son of God,<sup>u</sup> begotten of the Father before all worlds, true God, by whom all things are made; who was incarnate,<sup>x</sup> and made man,<sup>y</sup> he was crucified and buried, and the third day he rose again from the dead,<sup>z</sup> and ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; and shall come again with glory to judge the quick

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Catech. iv. s. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. vi. s. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. vii. s. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. viii. s. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. ix. s. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. x. s. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. xi. s. 1. 5. 8.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. xii. s. 1. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. xiii. s. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. xiv. s. 1.



and the dead,<sup>a</sup> whose kingdom shall have no end: And in the Holy Ghost,<sup>b</sup> the Comforter, who spake by the prophets; in one baptism for the remission of sins,<sup>c</sup> and in one holy catholic church, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting."

## His Writings.

*Genuine.*

Catecheses ad Illuminatos 13.

Catecheses Mystagogicæ quinque.

Epistola ad Constantium Imp. de Apparitione crucis.

*Supposititious.*

Oratio de occurso Domini.

Epistola ad Augustinum de miraculis Hieronymi, Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Catech. xv. s. 1. 2. 14.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xvi. s. 1.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. xviii. s. 1. 11.

# THE LIFE OF SAINT AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

## SECTION I.

### HIS ACTS FROM HIS BIRTH TILL THE SYNOD AT AQUILEIA.

The time and place of his nativity, and nobility of his descent. A swarm of bees settling about his mouth as he lay in the cradle. A sportive presage of his future bishopric. The care of his education. His pleading causes. His commission to be governor of Insubria, &c. with consular dignity. The greatness of the city of Milan. The death of Auxentius, bishop of that see. The providing a fit successor recommended by the emperor to the provincial bishops. Ambrose's exhortation upon that occasion. The choice unanimously cast upon him. His positive refusal, and artifices used to decline it. His flight: forced to come in upon the emperor's proclamation. The general joy and satisfaction at his consecration. His ordination, how far justifiable according to the canons. Communicatory letters to him from all parts. St. Basil's friendly letter to him. His ordering his domestic affairs for the better discharge of his episcopal office. His theological studies under the assistance of Simplician. His diligence in reforming his diocese, and the exercises of his private life. The irruption of the northern nations into Italy. His flight into Illyricum, and visiting Rome. The cure of a paralytic woman said to be done there by his prayers. His books *de Fide*, upon what occasion written. The trouble created him by the Arian empress Justina. His impartial advice, and resolute carriage towards the young emperor Valentinian. His consecrating Anemmius bishop of Sirmium, and what happened there. Euthymius's design to surprise him, requited with the same punishment upon himself.

ST. AMBROSE, though by descent a citizen of Rome, and of a noble family, was yet born in France, and in all probability at Arles, the metropolis of Gallia Narbonensis, that being the ordinary residence of the prætorian prefect. Indeed, Arles was a place of great renown, and as it was at this time the court of the imperial lieutenant, so it was afterwards the seat-royal of a kingdom: a city of that splendour and magnificence, that it is styled by Ausonius,<sup>a</sup> *Gallula Roma*, "the Gallic Rome," as well

<sup>a</sup> Clar. urb. Carm. viii. p. 239. inter Panegyricos.

for the greatness of the place, as for its being a Roman colony. Here then we presume to place his nativity, which happened about the year 333, at what time his father (whose name also was Ambrose) was *præfectus prætorio Galliarum*,<sup>b</sup> or the emperor's lieutenant in France, and the other Western provinces under his jurisdiction, one of the highest places of trust and honour in the Roman empire. The youngest he was of three children, Marcellina and Satyrus being born before him. He was nursed in the *prætorium*, or governor's palace; and sleeping one day in his cradle in the open court, a swarm of bees settled about his face, and gently crept in and out of his open mouth without doing him the least harm; which his father, who was then walking hard by, perceiving, charged the maid that attended him not to disturb or drive them away, who soon after mounted up aloft into the air, till they quite vanished out of sight. Surprised with the accident, he told those that were about him, (and it was a true presage,) this boy, if he lives, will prove a great man. How long his father lived after this is not known, it is probable he died during his government in those parts: after whose decease, his mother, with the whole family, returned to Rome; and the place is still shewed where their house stood, turned at this day into a convent of Benedictine monks. Amongst the sportive passages of his childhood, this is not the least memorable, that when he espied his mother and sister kissing the bishop's hand, (according to the pious reverence which in those days they paid to the governors of the church,) he merrily offered them his hand to kiss, which he told them they ought to do, for that he was sure he should be a bishop. His education was suitable to his birth, liberal and ingenuous, and as he grew up, he made himself master of all the learning that Rome or Greece could afford: and for religion, he was formed to that, especially by the care and counsels of his sister Marcellina; who, having devoted herself to a state of celibacy, spent her time in the exercises of piety and devotion, and by her converse and example trained him up to a life of virtue, and secured him from those snares and vices which a place of so many charms and temptations as Rome was must have betrayed him to.

II. He was now grown up to years of maturity, and being

<sup>b</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. oper. Ambr. Præf. p. 1. ed. 1567.



accomplished with all secular learning, thought it time to enter upon the public stage, and to that end betook himself to practise in the court of the prætorian prefect, where he pleaded causes with so much smartness and dexterity, that he was soon taken notice of by Anicius Probus, lately made prætorian prefect of Italy; a person of great eminency and authority, who made choice of him to be of his council. To this Anicius Probus we find a rescript of the emperor Valentinian,<sup>c</sup> dated at Triers, anno 369, in which year, probably, he was advanced to that office: and being to send out governors into the several provinces of his jurisdiction, he had an especial eye upon Ambrose,<sup>d</sup> to whom he committed the provinces of Insubria, Æmylia, and Liguria, containing a good part of Gallia Cisalpina, investing him with consular power and dignity, and despatching him with this short instruction, intimating the mildness and clemency of his government, "Go thy way, (said he,) and govern more like a bishop than a judge," little dreaming of what happened afterwards. Thus commissioned, he entered upon his charge, taking up his residence at Milan, the capital city of the province, indeed the metropolis of the whole Italic diocese, the usual seat of the Western emperors, or their prime ministers; being reckoned one of the four prime cities of Italy, and one of the ten greatest cities in Europe, a place renowned for the antiquity of its standing, (being built, they say, three hundred and thirty-nine years before our Saviour's incarnation,) for the pleasantness of its situation, the largeness of its circuit, (its very suburbs equalling many great cities,) the beauty and elegance of its churches, neatness and stateliness of its buildings, the fame of its university, ingenuity and dexterity of its artificers, the temperature of its air, fertility of soil, plenty of provisions, richness of traffic, and populousness of its inhabitants; upon all which, and many more accounts, it deservedly bears the title of *Milano grande*, "Milan the great:" but in nothing greater than in its honourable relation to that great person, of whom we write, in whom it prides itself, as in its noblest ornament. Five years he had continued in his government, which he managed with admirable prudence and justice, when an unexpected accident made a great alteration in his fortunes, and engaged him in a quite different course of life.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. i. Tit. vii. de Offic. Rect. prov. l. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 2,

III. Auxentius, bishop of Milan, the chief supporter of Arianism in the Western world, had been more than once synodically deposed: but being a man hardy and confident, still kept his ground; and by his sly insinuation at court, sometimes plausibly colluding, otherwhiles peremptorily denying the things charged upon him, had baffled all attempts against him, till death at last put the sentence into full execution, the man dying anno 374: whose death was no sooner spread abroad, but the bishops of the province met together about the election of a successor,<sup>e</sup> whom the emperor sent for, and told them, that they, whose business it was to be peculiarly conversant in the divine volumes, best understood the qualifications of a fit person for that place; that he should be one who might instruct his people, not only by his doctrine but his life, set forth himself as an exemplar of universal goodness and virtue, and make his conversation give testimony to the doctrine that he preached. "Choose such a one (said he) and place him upon the episcopal throne, and we ourselves will readily submit our crowns and sceptres to his counsels and direction, and, as men obnoxious to human frailties, will receive his reproofs and admonitions as the most wholesome physic." The bishops humbly besought his majesty, that, as one capable enough to judge, he would please to nominate the person. But he modestly declined it, telling them it was too great an affair for him to meddle in, and that they themselves were upon all accounts fitter to make a wiser and better choice. With that they took their leave, and went to the cathedral to consult about it. And now different interests began to shew themselves: though Auxentius was dead, his party was yet alive, and vigorously contended for a man of their communion, and big words were spoken of what they would do, if they were rejected; the Catholics, on the other hand, labouring as hard for an orthodox bishop. Factions grew strong, and the whole city was divided, and things openly tended to a tumult and insurrection: which Ambrose hearing, and being ready, according to the duty of his place, to prevent all public disorder, hastened immediately to the church, where, in a grave and pathetic oration, he exhorted the people to peace and concord, and to a quiet submission to the laws. His speech ended, the voice of a

<sup>e</sup> Theodor. l. iv. c. 6, 7. Vid. Socrat. l. iv. c. 30. Sozom. l. vi. c. 24. Paulin. ubi supr. Rufin. l. ii. c. 11.

child was heard from amidst the crowd, "Ambrose is bishop." The hint was soon taken, and, as if it had been a voice from heaven, the whole company unanimously cried out, that Ambrose should be the man: and herein both Catholics and Arians did the more readily consent, in that neither party seemed to have got the better of the other.

IV. Ambrose was infinitely surprised at the passage, and the joyful acclamations of the people, and peremptorily refused to comply with them. And to let them see how unfit he was to make a bishop, he put on a rough merciless humour: for going out of the church, he sat down on the bench of justice, and sending for some malefactors to be brought before him, commanded them to be racked with great rigour and severity, hoping by this means to take off the edge of the people's inclination towards him, who, yet nothing discouraged, cried out, "your sin be upon us." This artifice failing, he tried another, contriving it, that women of lewd and common fame should be seen publicly going into and about his house, which he doubted not would be looked upon as highly unbecoming a person designed for the episcopal office. But the people quickly smelt it out to be a piece of pageantry, and with redoubled importunity cried out, "your sin be upon us." No remedy was now left, but directly to run away. Accordingly, at midnight he stole out of the city, and designed for Ticinum, a neighbouring city, but missed his way; and having wandered up and down all night, found himself in the morning again at Milan at the Roman gate. He is presently laid hold on, and a guard set about him, till the emperor's pleasure might be known in the case, without whose leave no public officer might be admitted to holy orders; but in that they met with no opposition, for the emperor, knowing him to be a man of singular integrity, easily gave his consent. Ambrose in the meanwhile had again made his escape, and withdrawn himself to the country-house of one Laurentius, a great man, and his intimate friend, with whom he had hid himself. And now they were wholly at a loss how to retrieve him. But the emperor had given order to the *vicarius* or lieutenant of the civil diocese to see the thing effectually done; and he had published an edict, that none, under peril of his head and confiscation of his estate, should dare to conceal him. Laurentius hereupon was forced to break up his sanctuary, and brought him



back to Milan ; and now seeing it was to no purpose any longer to resist the pleasure of the divine providence, he yielded to lay down the public rods and axes, and to take up the crosier, only demanding that he might be baptized by a catholic bishop, for as yet he was only a catechumen. So he was baptized ; and eight days after, with the universal acclamation of the people, solemnly consecrated to that see ; the emperor himself (who was present at the ordination) concluding the solemnity with this short gratulatory address to heaven, “ I thank thee, O Lord Almighty, and our Saviour, that thou hast made choice of this person, to whom I had committed the power over men’s bodies, to be intrusted with the souls of men, and thereby hast declared my choice to be fit and just.” And, indeed, the emperor highly honoured him, and hearkened to his admonitions with a just submission and reverence. And, therefore, when not long after he complained to him of the misdemeanours of some in authority, aggravating their faults with great freedom and impartiality, the good emperor answered, “ I was heretofore no stranger to this liberty you take, and yet was so far from opposing, that I freely consented to your ordination : go on therefore as the divine law commands, and cure the distempers and maladies which we are apt to fall into.”

V. How far his ordination was justifiable by the ecclesiastic laws of those times might be disputed. It is certain, it was not strictly regular according to the stated customs and canons of the church, which disallow tumultuary elections, especially of unbaptized laymen, and require gradual approaches,<sup>f</sup> and due distances of time, both for baptism and ordination. But in this case, it is evident there were extraordinary appearances of God’s immediate approbation, so that the bishops that were met about the ordination, judged it to proceed, *ἐκ τινος θείου*, “ from a divine appointment,” and the emperor and the whole city were satisfied it was *θέου τε ἔργον*, (as Socrates has it,) “ God’s own peculiar work ;” *θεία Ψήφος*, (as it is in Theodoret,) “ a divine election.” And thus the apostolic canons expressly prohibit any new baptized person to be made bishop,<sup>g</sup> *εἰ μὴ πω κατὰ θείαν χάριν*, “ unless it be done according to the divine grace and favour ;” that is, say the scholiasts, *εἰ μὴ πω ἀποκαλυφθείη περὶ αὐτοῦ*,

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Conc. Nicæn. Can. ii. et Can. Apost. Can. lxxx.

<sup>g</sup> Loc. cit. ubi vid. Bals. et Zonar.

“unless it be some way revealed that he ought to be the man.” Besides, the canons in this case were sometimes suspended, either when the minds of the people could not be otherwise quieted, or when the person elected, being of extraordinary quality, was supposed to be highly useful to the church, and that the necessity of affairs would not admit the returns and formalities of customary ordination: two instances whereof the reader may remember we have already noted; the one that of Eusebius, St. Basil’s predecessor in the see of Cæsarea, the other of Nectarius bishop of Constantinople. The news of his consecration being dispersed abroad, especially by his own epistles, sent as the custom was to the most eminent prelates, communicatory letters arrived from all parts; the Western bishops frankly testifying their approbation of his ordination. He wrote likewise into the East, and among others to St. Basil, who was highly pleased with his epistle, and returned an answer,<sup>h</sup> wherein he congratulates his promotion to that see, and that God had made choice of so considerable a person; a man selected out of the imperial city, and intrusted with the government of provinces; a person eminent for his wisdom, and the nobility of his house; for the exemplary virtue and integrity of his life, the powerfulness of his rhetoric, and his wise conduct of secular affairs; and that he had brought him over to the care and oversight of Christ’s flock; concluding with this pious counsel: “Go on, therefore, O thou man of God; and since thou hast not received or learnt the gospel of Christ from man, but that our Lord himself has taken thee from among the secular judges, and translated thee to an apostolic chair, fight the good fight, correct and reform the distempers of the people, if any be infected with the Arian contagion; revive the ancient tracts and footsteps of the fathers, and, by frequent intercourse of letters, build up that foundation of love and kindness thou hast now laid between us; that how far distant soever we be otherwise in our habitations, our minds and spirits may be near at hand to converse together.”

VI. That he might with less distraction attend the cares of his pastoral charge, his first work was to divest himself of his estate: his money and goods he presently bestowed upon the poor,<sup>i</sup> his lands he settled upon the church, only making his sister Marcellina tenant for life; the care of his house and

<sup>h</sup> Basil. Epist. cxcvii.

<sup>i</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 8.

family he committed entirely to his brother Satyrus, that so he might have nothing to hinder him from the immediate duties of his place. And because the course and manner of his life had hitherto kept him from conversing much with theologic studies, he contracted an intimate friendship with Simplician, a presbyter of Rome,<sup>k</sup> a man of good learning, and a pious life, and who had accomplished himself, both by foreign travels and domestic studies: him he drew over to Milan, and to his tutorage he resigned himself; by which means he soon arrived to a very exact knowledge of the mysteries and controversies of the Christian faith: for which he ever after treated Simplician as a friend, revered him as a master, and loved him as a father. Nay, God himself seems to have rewarded the pains he took with this good man, so that though at this time he was of a great age, yet he lived to succeed St. Ambrose in the see of Milan. With infinite diligence did our new bishop apply himself to the reformation of his diocese: he restored the discipline of the church, revived the almost decayed rites and solemnities of divine worship, composed differences among neighbours, purged men's minds from errors, and plucked up those Arian tares which for many years had been sown amongst them, so that his church now enjoyed a happy calm. And this opportunity he took of employing his vacant hours in writing: for a little more than two years after his entrance upon that see,<sup>l</sup> he wrote his three books *de Virginibus*, dedicated to his sister Marcellina, wherein he describes the excellency of that state of life, and lays down rules for the better conduct and management of it. About this time also, or not long after, he set upon his commentaries upon Luke, and perhaps his three books of "Offices," composed in imitation of those written by the great Roman orator.

VII. But these calm sunshine-days lasted not long. About the year 377, the Goths, Huns, Alani, Taifali, Sarmatæ, and other barbarous northern nations, broke in upon several parts of the Roman empire, and in the issue fell foul upon one another. We find a tribe of them settling in Italy, in some parts not far from Milan.<sup>m</sup> The approach of such fierce and merciless ene-

<sup>k</sup> August. Confess. l. viii. c. 2. vol. i. p. 145. Ambr. Ep. lxxv. ad Simplic.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. l. ii. de Virgin. c. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Am. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 9. videsis Idat. Fast. Cons. ap. vol. ii. Sirmondi opp. p. 339.



mies, set the whole country under a mighty consternation, to avoid whose fury, St. Ambrose and several others fled into Illyricum, there to shelter themselves in a miserable banishment, *Nos quoque, in Illyrico exules patria, Gothorum exilia fecerunt*, as his own words are.<sup>n</sup> This opportunity (if I conjecture right, for my author fixes no other date, than that it was some years after his ordination) he took to visit Rome, the seat of his ancestors, and the place of his education. Coming thither, he found his mother dead, and his sister with her virgin-companion, who for many years had joined with her in the same profession, cohabiting together, as he had left them, who kissing his hand at the first salutation, he smiled; "see now, (said he,) you kiss a bishop's hand, as I formerly told you," referring to a passage in his childhood, which we noted before. While he continued at Rome, he was invited by a noble matron, that dwelt in the Transtiberine region, to celebrate the holy eucharist in her house, (probably the common confusions, and great power of the Gentiles at that time at Rome, had made the public congregations less safe or convenient;) which being noised in the neighbourhood, a woman that kept a public bath, but who then lay bed-ridden of a palsy, caused herself to be conveyed thither in a chair, and importuned the holy bishop to intercede with heaven for her. And while he was praying over, and laying his hands upon her, she caught fast hold of his garments, which she embraced and kissed; which was no sooner done, but she found her strength return, and forthwith rose up and walked. Long he continued not in exile, before the providence of God made way for his return. For Frigerid, the emperor's general, having totally vanquished that swarm of barbarous people,<sup>o</sup> slew Farnobius, their commander, and a great part of the army, and the rest that escaped the sword he drove quite out of Italy.

VIII. The Eastern empire was in the meanwhile miserably infested with these northern inroads, for whose relief, (Valens being then in the remote Eastern parts,) Gratian (son of the late deceased emperor Valentinian) raised an army, but hearing that some of the Germans had invaded France, was forced for the present to turn his forces against them. But before he marched, he wrote to St. Ambrose, to come to him, and more accurately to instruct him in the so much controverted articles

<sup>n</sup> Comm. in Luc. l. x. c. 21. Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Am. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 9.

of the Christian faith, and that both by word and writing: which he did, and upon that occasion wrote his books *de Fide*, dedicated to the emperor, which he enlarged to five; therein fully discussing the questions which the Arians had started concerning the Son of God, and the doctrine of the Trinity; to which, as an appendage, he afterwards added (which the emperor by letter particularly desired of him <sup>p</sup>) his three books *de Spiritu Sancto*, to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost. And now began those troubles that exercised him the greatest part of his life. Justina, the empress dowager, relict of the elder Valentinian, had, by means of his uncle Cerealis, advanced her young son Valentian, Gratian's half-brother, to be his colleague in the empire: a great patroness she was of the Arian party,<sup>q</sup> but had cunningly dissembled her inclinations that way during the life of her husband; who being now dead, she began openly to season her son with those impious principles, and to instil into him a dislike of Ambrose, whom yet she resolved first to attempt by fair means, and to that end set her son upon him. The good bishop gravely put him in mind of the faith and religion of his father, advising him to keep the portion that he had received inviolable: he shewed him the difference between the Arian and the Catholic doctrine; that the one had been immediately derived from the mouth of our Lord and his apostles, the other quite contrary, being plainly repugnant to the divine revelation. The young prince, impatient of contradiction, grew into choler, and commanded his guards to surround the church: which yet nothing dismayed the holy man, who smiled at it, as a vain scarecrow. Whereat the emperor being more exasperated, openly commanded him to come out of the church. "That (replied the bishop) I can never willingly consent to; I will not betray the sheepfold to the wolves, nor deliver up the holy church to such impious intruders. If you have a mind to despatch me, you have swords and spears within, do it here. Such a death I am ready most willingly to undergo." But of this more afterwards.

IX. It happened about this time, anno 380, that the see of Sirmium was vacant. Justina, that had a quick eye upon all advantages, took care presently to make a party there for the promotion of an Arian bishop: to oppose whose designs, Ambrose

<sup>p</sup> Ext. ap. Ambr. vol. ii. p. 751.

<sup>q</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 13.

immediately hastened thither,<sup>r</sup> (and a learned man observes, and urges it as an evidence that Illyricum was then under the jurisdiction of the see of Milan,<sup>s</sup>) and being sat down in the episcopal chair, a maid of the Arian party confidently came up to him, and taking hold of his garment, endeavoured to pull him down to a party of women, who stood ready to have murdered, and thrown him out of the church; but he told her, though I be unworthy of so venerable an office, yet it becomes neither you nor your profession to lay violent hands upon the meanest bishop, for which you have reason to fear the judgment of God, lest some mischief do befall you. And so indeed it came to pass. For the next day she died, and was buried, whose funeral (to let the world see how easily he could return good for evil) he attended to her grave: an accident that struck a mighty terror into the whole party, and made them for that time desist. So, having peaceably ordained Anemmius to that see, he returned to Milan, where he found the evil spirit of Arian malice and revenge still haunting him. Justina laid snares for him in every place, and made as many against him as she could by any arts get over to her party. Some she corrupted with bribes, others she attempted by promising them places of honour and dignity, if they would seize him in the church, and forcibly carry him into banishment. This several attempted, but in vain, God still protecting him: nay, Euthymius, more zealous than the rest, had taken a house adjoining to the church, and thereinto privately conveyed a chariot, into which he designed suddenly to clap him, and then hurry him away. But his mischief returned upon his own head. For the next year, on that very day that he intended to surprise Ambrose, he was himself put into the same chariot, and carried into banishment. So visibly, many times, is “the Lord known by the judgment which he executeth, while the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands, while they sink down into the pit that they make, and in the net which they hide is their own foot taken.” However, either by misinformation or importunity they had so far prevailed upon the emperor Gratian, that he seized one of the churches which they had sued for,<sup>t</sup> but kept it in his hand, and upon better thoughts, without any solicitation, soon restored it to St. Ambrose back again.

<sup>r</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 2, 3.    <sup>s</sup> Ph. Bert. pithan. p. ii. c. 4.    <sup>t</sup> Ambr. de Sp. S. l. i. c. 1.



## SECTION II.

HIS ACTS FROM THE MEETING OF THE SYNOD AT AQUILEIA TILL THE  
DEATH OF GRATIAN.

The Arians petition the emperor for a public hearing. A synod indicted at Aquileia. The time of meeting, and number of bishops. The proceedings of the synod against Palladius and Secundianus, two Arian bishops. The charge pressed by Ambrose, and the shuffling replies of Palladius. His exceptions against his judges, and the manner of procedure. His sentence passed by particular votes. The condemnation of Secundianus, as also of Attalus and Valens, two Arian presbyters. Synodal letters written to the emperors. The truth of the Acts of this council defended against Chiffletius. Another synod at Aquileia about the case of Ursicinus. Synodal epistles to Theodosius about the union of the Eastern and Western churches, the schism at Antioch, and the case of Nazianzen and Maximus at Constantinople. Ambrose's book *De Incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento*, written upon what occasion. The rise of the Priscillian heresy. The author of it vigorously opposed by Ambrose. The quarrel between him and Macedonius, a great officer, upon that account. His undaunted interceding for the pardon of a condemned nobleman. The rebellion of Maximus, governor of the army in Britain. His murdering the emperor Gratian, and usurpation of the empire. St. Ambrose's embassy to him. The death of his brother Satyrus, and his funeral oration for him.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vigorous endeavours of the empress Justina, the Arian cause lost ground in the West; and being pressed hard upon by the Catholics, they appealed to a more public hearing, pretending they were misrepresented, and that they would stand or fall by the confession made some years since in the synod at Ariminum. In order hereunto, Palladius and Secundianus, two Arian bishops, and the only chief sticklers for the cause, petitioned Gratian," at his coming to Sirmium, for a general council, to be convened out of all parts of the Roman empire; hoping, that if they could effect this, whatever they might want in the West, the Eastern prelates (among whom lay the strength of their party) would turn the scale; and the emperor it seems had granted their request: which when St. Ambrose understood, he represented to him the inconvenience of the thing; that a general council was wholly needless in this case, the adverse party being inconsiderable, and that himself, and some of the neighbour bishops, were abundantly enough for their confutation; that it was unreasonable, for the sake of two

" Vid Gratian. Epist. inter gesta Synod. Aquil. Conc. vol. iii. p. 387. ed. reg. et Epist. Synod. ibid. p. 407.

rotten heretics, (as the council styles them,) to trouble the governors of the church through the whole empire, many of whom were, upon the account of distance, age, infirmity, or poverty, altogether unable to take so long a journey, or to be absent from their cures. Hereupon a synod out of Italy and the neighbouring provinces was indicted at Aquileia, where met of Italian, Dalmatian, and French bishops, with the legates from Africa and France, to the number of thirty-two: St. Ambrose, I conceive, as metropolitan, was president of the council; to whom the Synodicon,<sup>w</sup> without any warrant, joins Ascholius bishop of Thessalonica, his name neither appearing among the rest, nor so much as once mentioned in all the transactions of the synod. Several private and preliminary conferences the fathers had with the two Arian bishops; but no good being done, they met in a synodal assembly, Septemb. 5, anno 381; and the president having proposed that, for the clearer justification of their actions, the proceedings of the synod might be entered upon record, the emperor's letter was first read, whereby they were summoned, and constituted judges of the cause before them. Then was read an epistle of Arius, containing the chief points of his *dogmata*, and Palladius required to declare what he thought concerning it. Palladius answered, that by the emperor's letters which they had read, it was evident, that they had been the cause why there had not been a full and general council; that the bishops of their party (meaning the Orientalists) were absent, and therefore they could not answer. Ambrose replied, that this was done in compliance with the custom of former times, whereby the Oriental bishops were wont to assemble in the East, and at the same time the Western in the West. However, to take away all pretence of cavilling, the prefect of Italy had sent a summons to them of the East, that if they pleased, they might convene with them; but they keeping to their old course, had stayed at home. The other pleaded, that it was a fraud, and that they had herein circumvented and imposed upon the emperor, and therefore he was not obliged to answer. But Ambrose setting aside the case of the Eastern prelates, pressed hard for a positive answer: you have heard (said he) Arius's epistle read, you are wont, when challenged, to deny yourself to be an Arian; either now condemn him, or

<sup>w</sup> A Papp. edit. p. 46.

defend his cause. But the crafty heretic would not be drawn out of his old reserve: he told them, they were an incompetent judicatory; that he had promised indeed to make good his cause, but in a lawful trial; that he was come thither in expectation to have found a general council, whose decision he would not anticipate by answering there, where those of his own party were wanting. After a great deal of wrangling about this matter, they debated the letter of Arius from point to point, wherein the main disputing part lay upon Ambrose, who took up, and retorted the broken answers which Palladius gave to the several interrogatories; the fathers at the end of each denouncing an anathema against the maintainers of every point, as may be seen in the Acts of the council, extant at large.\* In which it is not unpleasant to observe what artifices the man makes use of to save himself: sometimes he endeavours to escape by subtle and sly evasions, as when he owns our Lord to be the true Son of God; but when pressed to it, would not acknowledge him to be true God; and to be good, but would not say, he was a good God, refusing to express himself in any other terms than these, "a good Father begat a good Son." Sometimes he pleaded, he could not answer, in that he had not notaries of his own to take what passed, pretending partiality on their side, and therefore required that his own notaries might be admitted: which being granted, he flew off from that. Other-whiles he required, that the people might be indifferently let in as spectators and judges of what passed on either side; which though it was not absolutely denied, yet St. Ambrose told him, that in those matters it was the place of bishops to judge the laity, and not the laity to judge the bishops. In short, throughout the whole procedure, whenever he was pinched with a question or an argument which he could not evade, he presently retired to his common refuge, that they were not a general council, and to such a one only he was obliged and resolved to answer: particularly he excepted against the president as an incompetent judge, charging him with impiety and injustice; and when Sabinus, bishop of Placentia, asked him what impieties he had to object against Ambrose, he gave them no other reply than before, that he would answer in a full council, when all persons concerned were present. St. Ambrose answered, "I desire to

\* Conc. vol. iii. p. 387, etc. ed. reg.



be charged and convicted in the presence of my brethren ; if I, who strenuously assert the faith, seem impious to you, speak out and say, what are those impious assertions I am guilty of." But the bold man thought fit to let that accusation fall, which he was not able to make good. After near seven hours' dispute, (for so long the session lasted,) St. Ambrose passed sentence upon him, pronouncing him unworthy of the episcopal office, and that a catholic should be ordained to his see ; which was ratified by an universal anathema of the synod denounced against him : after which, at the president's motion, all the bishops did in order, one by one, give their particular votes for his condemnation. Next they proceeded to Secundianus, and having for some time disputed the case with him, could drive him to no other resolution, than that he confessed our Lord to be the true only begotten Son of God, but would not explicitly assert, that he was the true God ; whereupon the like sentence was passed upon him. With them also the synod censured and condemned Attalus, a revolted presbyter, a man, it seems, of great age, having been present with Agrippinus his bishop in the Nicene council ; the determinations whereof he had together with his bishop subscribed, but afterwards recanted, and sheltered himself under Valens the intruding bishop of Petavio, a city in Pannonia ; who being for his misdemeanours publicly thrust out by the people, had betrayed the country to the Goths, in whose barbarous habit he dressed himself, and appeared in the head of them against the Roman army, and now went up and down the country, which he filled with unwarrantable ordinations ; and though summoned to the council, and himself not far off, (having taken up his station at this time at Milan,) yet refused to appear. Attalus being urged with his subscription, refused to give any answer, and so suffered judgment to pass against him. All which being despatched, the council arose, having deputed legates to the emperors, and by them a letter,<sup>y</sup> wherein they give them an account of what had been transacted in the synod ; praying in the close that they would cause the synodal sentence to be executed, and prohibit the followers of Photinus (who, notwithstanding the imperial edict to the contrary, still kept up their meetings at Sirmium) any longer to hold their unlawful conventicles. It must not here be forgotten, that a learned

<sup>y</sup> Ext. in Conc. vol. iii. p. 407. ed. reg.

man has not long since called the Acts of this council into question,<sup>z</sup> which he conceives to be a pure fictitious scene, composed by Vigilius bishop of Tapsus, a city in the province of Byzacium in Africa. He grants there was such a synod, and such proceedings in it against Palladius, but that the genuine Acts of it are lost, or have not yet seen the light; and that Vigilius, writing against the Arians, took up this way, and feigned this formal story purely out of his own head. His arguments, though many, are very weak and trifling, and do not deserve an operose confutation, being such as may be levelled against almost any ancient writing; nor is there any more just reason to question these, than the Acts of most ancient councils. The whole stress of his bold conjecture rests upon no firmer a bottom than this: that Vigilius affirms that he had written against Palladius, (who had answered St. Ambrose,) and immediately, without any other warrant, he concludes, that the proceedings of this synod were part of that book, and as such he has published them in his collection of Vigilius's works. Nor does he produce one syllable of any writer, either of those or the following ages, to justify what he says; or any ancient copy, that ascribes these Acts to Vigilius. And if such a liberty may be taken, what can be safe? Farewell all ancient monuments, when a confident conjecture may dispose of them, how, and to what use it please. And whereas he urges, that Vigilius wrote the Acts and Disputations of Arius and Athanasius before Probus, appointed by the emperor to be judge and moderator, and that in the way of a formal historical account, whenas all was but a feigned scheme; it is granted he did so. But then withal it is evident, both that ancient manuscripts entitle that piece to Vigilius; and, which is more, Vigilius himself elsewhere expressly owns that he did draw up those discourses,<sup>a</sup> which he did not intend as a real history, but only as personated acts and disputations: of either of which there is not the least tittle in our case. But enough of this matter.

II. About this time, either in this, or in some other synod presently after assembled at Aquileia, they debated the case of Ursicinus, who had lately made a miserable schism in the church of Rome, and besought the emperor Gratian not to

<sup>z</sup> P. Fr. Chifflet. *Vindic. Vigil. Taps.* §. 4. p. 33, etc.

<sup>a</sup> *Contr. Eutychn.* l. v. c. 2,

hearken to his petitions,<sup>b</sup> or be overcome with the importunities of that bold man. And perhaps in the same synod it was (wherein also St. Ambrose presided) that they wrote to the emperor Theodosius,<sup>c</sup> to let him know in how fair a way things were towards an union between the Eastern and the Western churches, and what advances they had made towards it, and that they had lately condemned the errors and the followers of Apollinaris. By a second letter (if at least it was in the same convention) they gave him thanks for restoring the catholic bishops to their sees,<sup>d</sup> praying him to interpose in the business of Antioch, where though Paulinus was survivor to Metelius, yet another had been put in; and this done by consent of Nectarius of Constantinople, whose succession to that see they conceived irregular, Nazianzen himself being placed in it to the exclusion of Maximus, (by whose false suggestions they had been so far imposed upon, as to espouse his cause, and to admit him to communion;) and therefore they besought him, either that Maximus might be put into possession of that see, or that the cause might be debated and adjusted in a general council at Rome. In answer whereunto, the synod at Constantinople, reassembling the following year, sent them word that they could not assent to a general council in the West, but thought good to give them an account both of the faith they had agreed in, and the care they had taken in providing for the sees of Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, which elsewhere we have more particularly related.

III. Ambrose being returned to Milan, found his enemies a little more calm for the present, though what they could not effect by open attempts, they sought to do by secret snares, and by putting affronts upon him. Amongst the rest, two gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the emperor Gratian,<sup>e</sup> being of the Arian party, came to him, and gave him a subject to discourse upon, the mystery of our Lord's incarnation, promising that they would be at the church called Portiana the next day to hear him. The expectation was great, and the congregation full; when the two courtiers, who designed nothing but a scene of ridicule and scorn, took their horses and rode out of town. But God, who will not be mocked, no not in his servants and ministers, met with them; they had not gone far, when their

<sup>b</sup> Ext. Epist. inter gesta synod. Aquil. ed. Hardouin. vol. i. p. 839.

<sup>c</sup> Ext. *ibid.* p. 844.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* p. 845.

<sup>e</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 4.



horses threw them, and both miserably perished. The congregation in the meanwhile grew impatient, and would stay no longer, so that the bishop was forced to go up into the pulpit, and discourse upon the argument that had been propounded to him, telling the auditory, that he was come thither to pay his debt, but he found not there his yesterday's creditors to receive it, and then went on to explain that mystery, which he published in a just discourse,<sup>f</sup> *de Incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento*. Much about this time, Priscillian, a noble Spaniard, rich, learned, eloquent, and witty, set up for an heretic, and formed a sect out of the very dregs of the Gnostic and Manichean errors and impurities, with a few rites and principles borrowed from others; for which he was, with some of his party, banished his own country,<sup>g</sup> and fled to Rome; where, endeavouring to vindicate himself, he was rejected by pope Damasus, who refused to see him. Then he came to Milan, where he found as cold entertainment from St. Ambrose. Being thus disappointed in his hopes of patronage from these two great men, he began to turn his projects, and try what he could do at court in procuring an edict for his restitution; which he effected by bribing and corrupting Macedonius, master of the offices, (as he was called,) a place of great power and authority about the palace. St. Ambrose opposed it, we may be sure, what lay in his power, for which Macedonius bore him a grudge ever after, insomuch that when he came one day to the *prætorium*, to intercede with him on the behalf of another, Macedonius, who had some intimation of his coming, commanded the gates to be shut up against him, so that being denied all entrance, left this message for him, "Tell him (said he) the time will come, when he himself shall fly to the church, and shall not be able to enter, though the doors be not shut against him:" which came to pass after Gratian's death, when a warrant being sent to seize him, he fled for sanctuary to the church, but could not find his way into it, although the doors stood wide open, and so was apprehended. Nor was it all the contempt which great men at court cast upon him could discourage him from improving his interest there for all pious offices, whereof one instance especially shews both his courage and his charity. A pagan gentleman of some authority had

<sup>f</sup> Ext. vol. ii. p. 703.

<sup>g</sup> Sulp. Sever. Hist. sac. l. ii. c. 48.

<sup>h</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 8.

spoken disparagingly of the emperor Gratian,<sup>i</sup> as a son unworthy of so great a father; for which he was arraigned and condemned to die: and being led forth to execution, St. Ambrose, pitying the man's case, went to court to intercede for his life. The emperor at that time was diverting himself with private hunting in the amphitheatre, so that he stood for some time amongst the guards at the gate. But none offering to go in and acquaint the emperor, he betook himself to the postern, whereat the wild beasts used to be let in, and crowding in along with the keepers, went directly to the emperor, whom he never left soliciting, together with the courtiers that were about him, till he had procured the man's pardon, and saved his life.

IV. Anno 383, a great revolution happened in the civil state. Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, say some, but a Briton, say others, (I conceive him of Spanish extract, but born in Britain, deriving his pedigree from Constantine the Great,) had been commander in Britain, colleague with Theodosius: and finding his companion advanced to the empire, and himself neglected, he made a party in the army, who proclaimed him emperor. Immediately he conveyed his forces over into France and Germany,<sup>k</sup> where, by the assistance of the barbarous people, he quickly secured all these Western parts to his obedience. The news whereof arriving at court, Gratian advanced with an army to encounter him, and met him not far from Lyons in France. Five several days the fight continued more or less, till Gratian observing a part of his army to desert him, began to retire with three hundred horse. But the other party adding treachery to rebellion, stuck at nothing to secure their victory. For Andragathius, Maximus's general of the horse, conveying himself into a close horse-litter, gave out that the empress was come thither to her husband. Gratian suspecting nothing, passed the Rhone to meet her, and was no sooner come near, but Andragathius suddenly leaped out of the litter and stabbed him: a prince of great virtues, and singular piety, but unhappily cut off in the very flower of his age. And now Maximus raged at pleasure; and having treated all those of Gratian's party that fell into his hands with exquisite cruelty, prepared to march for

<sup>i</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 25.

<sup>k</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 11. Sozom. l. vii. c. 13. Hier. Epitaph. Nepot. Ep. xxxv. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 273. Vid. Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 35. qui paulo aliter habet.

Italy. To prevent which, Valentinian despatched St. Ambrose upon an embassy to him, who by the gravity of his person, the authority of his office, his humble address, and eloquent insinuations, stopped his journey at that time, and kept him on the other side the Alps: a work of equal danger, difficulty, and success, considering the circumstances of affairs at that time; though Paulinus, who was afterwards his secretary, by a strange mistake confounds it with a second embassy some years after. This year he buried his dear brother Satyrus, a person eminent for his virtues and employments. He had lately been in Africa and Sicily, and though advised by his friends not to return home, where all things were running headlong into extreme confusion, he could not be persuaded, resolving not to desert his brother in such an evil time, and impatient of delay, put himself on board an old rotten ship, which yet brought him safe to shore; where landing, he went home and died, much about the time that his brother was to take his journey for France; who bewailed his death, and described his virtues, in a large and eloquent oration at his funeral,<sup>1</sup> comforting himself under so severe a stroke with the consideration, that he was "taken away from the evil to come," and that his eyes did not see those calamities and devastations that were begun elsewhere, and then hung directly over Italy.

### SECTION III.

#### HIS ACTS FROM THE DEATH OF GRATIAN TILL THE END OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN HIM AND SYMMACHUS.

The confidence of the Gentiles at Rome upon the usurpation of Maximus. The party headed by Symmachus, provost of the city. Their former petition in the name of the senate countermined by an anti-remonstrance. Symmachus employed again to petition the emperor for the restoring the altar of Victory. St. Ambrose's elegant and passionate dissuasive sent to the emperor about this matter. A copy of the petition sent him by the emperor. Symmachus's address to the emperor in behalf of paganism and the altar of Victory, and St. Ambrose's excellent reply to that address exemplified at large. Symmachus accused to the emperor. Another petition of his in behalf of the Gentiles. Banished Rome, and why. His recantation, and readmission into favour.

THE confusions that threatened the Roman empire by the death of Gratian, and the prosperous usurpation of Maximus,

<sup>1</sup> Ext. vol. ii. p. 1113.



who was attended with vast numbers of the barbarous people, and the timorous nature of Valentinian, a prince young and unexperienced in the world, and frightened at this time with the daily news of the invasion of Italy, gave some kind of new life to declining paganism, the Gentiles at Rome hoping now to recover the abolished rites of their religion. The party was headed by Q. Aurelius Symmachus, a person of more than ordinary note and eminency, an admirable scholar, expert statesman, and the most accomplished orator of that age; he was some years after made consul, and was at this time provost of Rome, but withal a great bigot for paganism, passionately addicted to the Gentile rites. About two years since,<sup>m</sup> an attempt had been made this way: some few of the senate, assuming to themselves the name of the whole, had petitioned the emperor in behalf of their religion, which when the rest, who were Christians, understood, they immediately published an anti-remonstrance, wherein they declared, that this had been done without either their privity or consent, that they absolutely disowned any such request, protesting both publicly and privately, they would never come to the senate if this was granted; a copy of which remonstrance pope Damasus sent to Ambrose. But finding now a more favourable season, it was again set on foot, and Symmachus, as the most considerable person, employed in the name of the senate to prefer a petition and remonstrance to the emperor, (for though *pro forma* it was inscribed to all of them, yet was it presented only to Valentinian,) to beseech them to resettle their ancient religion. Particularly that the altar of victory (which stood, as some will have it, in the capitol, but in truth was generally placed in the senate-house, and, being moveable, was carried to any place where the senate assembled, and had been more than once quite taken away by preceding emperors) might be restored, the salary heretofore allowed to the vestal virgins, (whose number at this time at Rome was seven, all persons of noble and honourable extract, who, according to ancient usage, officiated in the worship of the gods for the public safety and prosperity of the city, as a pagan geographer that wrote under Constantius informs us,)<sup>n</sup> and lately taken from them, might be restored, together with the revenues in land formerly bequeathed

<sup>m</sup> Ambr. Ep. xvii. vol. ii. p. 824.

<sup>n</sup> Vet. orb. descript. Gr. Lat. a Gothofred. edit. p. 34.

to the vestal college, and that it might be lawful for any to bestow what legacies he pleased upon them: a cause which he insinuated with great smoothness and subtlety, and managed with all the advantages that could be given it by the zeal of a pagan and the eloquence of an orator. No sooner did St. Ambrose hear of this, but he wrote to the emperor Valentinian to put a stop to it,<sup>o</sup> representing to him, that as the empire was under them, so they “ themselves were accountable unto God, from whom they could not expect protection and security, unless they sincerely worshipped him, the only true God, the supreme Sovereign of the world, and gave no way to superstition and idolatry; that his majesty having so openly declared his devotion for the Christian religion, it was a wonder how any could hope to make use of his authority to establish the Gentile rites, or his exchequer to defray the charges of their sacrifices, especially they who had never been sparing of the blood of Christians, who had pulled down their churches, and had denied them the common liberty of teaching children; that the things they petitioned for had been long since taken away by the edicts of former emperors, and lately by his own brother Gratian of famous memory, whose pious constitutions he ought not to violate, and though they had been wanting herein, yet he himself ought to have done it; that he should take care that no man should impose upon his tender unexperienced years, much less an idolatrous Gentile; great men were to be regarded, but God to be preferred before all, whose cause here was nearly concerned, and to whom to give precedence could be no injury to any. Was it fit that Christians should be forced to come to the senate, and take their oaths before a profane impious altar? should this be allowed in his reign? What was this but to acknowledge an idol to be an almighty being? Could men have the face to beg of him to command the altar to be erected, and to bear the charge of their profane sacrifices? a thing not to be done without plain sacrilege and impiety. That therefore he besought him not to sign any such warrant, and, as a bishop, conjured him by the faith that he professed, wherein all the bishops had joined with him, but that it was looked upon as a thing incredible, that such a thing should ever have been moved in his consistory, or petitioned for by the senate; as indeed it was not, but only by a

<sup>o</sup> Epist. xvii. vol. ii. p. 824.

small inconsiderable party, that assumed to themselves that august venerable name, the far greater number being Christians. That he should do well herein to advise with his colleague and parent the emperor Theodosius, whom in all other cases he was wont to consult, and much more ought in this, no cause being greater and more important than that of religion : that were it a matter of civil cognizance, he should leave it to others to undertake ; but being that of religion, it was proper for him as a bishop to meddle in it ; to which end he desired his majesty to send him a copy of the petition, and he would return a full answer to it, that so his colleague, being perfectly informed of all things, might take order in the case : that if he acted contrary to this advice, they that were bishops must declare that they knew not how to bear with it ; his majesty might come to church, if he pleased, but he would either find there no bishop to minister to him, or one that would oppose him, and let him know, that the church of God takes no gifts from him that restores and beautifies pagan temples, that Christ's altar rejects his offerings who erects altars to idols. What would he answer to his deceased brother, who must needs repent that ever he made him a co-partner in the empire, which by his care of religion he had left secure and firm, and by this means would receive a more fatal blow, than that death's-wound that had been given him by his enemies ? Nay, what would he answer his father, whose piety this course must needs reproach, who could never have believed so great a wickedness should be attempted, that Gentiles should sacrifice in that public court ; that is, that Pagans should insult and triumph, while Christians were by, and against their wills forced to be present at those heathen solemnities ? That therefore he humbly besought his majesty, that, reflecting how great an injury the passing such an edict would be, first to God, and then both to his father and his brother, he would take that course that should appear to be most acceptable to God, and most advantageous to himself."

II. Upon the receipt of this letter, Valentinian sent him a copy of the petition, which he thoroughly canvassed, and fully answered in every part. And because, perhaps, it may be no unpleasant entertainment to the reader to see these two great persons entering the lists, and arguing the case at large, I shall here (though it be somewhat prolix) present him both with



Symmachus's address, and St. Ambrose's reply; entreating the learned reader's pardon, if the translation be not exactly to his mind; it being perhaps a far more difficult task, than at first sight it may appear, satisfactorily to render either the one or the other into English. The address runs in this form.<sup>p</sup>

“To my Lords the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius; Symmachus, Prefect of the City.

“As soon as the most illustrious, and your ever loyal senate, had taken cognizance, that the vices of the times were subdued by the laws, and the infamy of the past ages expiated by the piety of our present princes, they, following so good an example, have thought fit to improve the present occasion to express their grief, and again to constitute me the messenger and manager of their complaints, who find themselves denied the privilege of access to their venerable prince by the arts of bad men, because they foresee, that, when he knows their grievances, he will do them justice. I therefore, in a double capacity, both as your deputy do promote the public good, and as the envoy of the citizens of Rome recommend their desires; in this we are all agreed, because at length men are grown so wise as not to espouse the factions of courtiers, when they manage their private feuds. For to be respected, to be honoured, to be loved, is a more welcome piece of grandeur, than to be an emperor; for who can endure, that private quarrels should obstruct the happiness of the commonwealth? The senate justly prosecutes those men who prefer the satisfactions of their own ambition before the reputation of their prince; while it is the employment of our time and industry to be a guard and security to your clemency. For when we keep and defend the constitutions of our progenitors, the laws, and sanctions, and, as it were, the fate of our country, what do we, but advance the glory of the times? Which is never greater, than when you, that are concerned, think nothing lawful that thwarts the practices of your forefathers.

“And to that end, we humbly request that state of religion may be restored to us, which for so many ages hath been beneficial to the republic; and certainly, if we reckon up the princes of either persuasion, we shall find that your immediate predecessor

<sup>p</sup> Symmach. l. x. ep. 54.

was no enemy to those usages, but he, who went before him, a great admirer, and observer of the rites we plead for; if therefore the piety of the ancient emperors be insufficient to make an example, let the smooth and artificial carriage of those who immediately preceded you incline you. Who is there so much a friend to the Barbarians, as not to complain of the loss of the altar of Victory? We are cautious with respect to posterity, and are willing to avoid whatever wears the portraiture of ill-luck; let us therefore, if we despise the deity, at least pay respect to the name, for your majesties are already much, and for the future will be more indebted to Victory. Let those slight this deity, who have never experimented its favours; but I could wish, that you would not desert a patronage that hath been so instrumental to the magnifying of your triumphs. Every man is a votary to that goddess; for no man can deny, but that which he professes to pray for, ought to be honoured. But if the fatal omen will not affright you, yet at least the altar ought to be left untouched, as an ornament of the senate-house; and let me beg you, that what religion we were brought up in when we were boys, we may, now we are old, leave to our posterity. Custom is a second nature, and we cannot but love what has been bred up with us.

“ You see, that the design of the august emperor Constantius, and that deservedly, proved abortive, and all such patterns are to be avoided by you, which you find by experience to be of no long continuance. By this means we contrive a way how to eternize your fame and majesty, that posterity may find nothing in your management of affairs fit to be reformed. [This altar being taken away] where shall we swear to observe your laws and statutes? What notion of religion shall affright the profligate from perjury? It is true, God is every where, and the perfidious wretch can be in no place safe, but yet the awe of a deity, present with us in such a place, is a mighty instrument to deter men from vice. That one altar preserves the whole people in unity; that one altar keeps every private person from breach of trust; nor does any thing give greater authority and reverence to our decrees, than that they are made by senators sworn at these altars. Shall therefore the habitation of the gods be profaned by perjuries? And will our most venerable princes think this a likely and probable course, who are themselves

secured in their persons and government by the oaths of their subjects?

“But you will object, the most august emperor Constantius did the same. Let us rather imitate the rest of the actions of that prince, who would never have adventured on such an attempt, had any of his predecessors so mistook the measures of government; for the miscarriages of former princes are lessons of correction to their successors, and that man easily amends, who is warned by the ill example of those that went before him. It happened, that that prince, your majesty’s predecessor, in attempting so great an innovation, was not aware of the envy and discontent that attended the action. But will that defence serve your turn, if we wilfully imitate, what we remember hath been formerly disallowed? Let your majesties take patterns from the other actions of that prince, which are fitter to be transcribed: he took away nothing from the privileges of the vestal virgins, he conferred the revenues of the priesthood on the nobility, and out of the exchequer allowed the expenses of the sacrifices and other religious observances; and being attended in pomp by the senate through all the streets of that immortal city, cast his eyes pleasantly on the temples, read the names of the gods to whom they were dedicated, written over their gates, made inquiry into the original of their buildings, and admired the piety of the founders. And whereas himself was of another persuasion, yet he was never willing to abolish and extirpate this that was the religion of the empire; for every man hath his peculiar rites and modes of worship. The supreme divinity that governs the world has assigned several tutelar guardians to every city: for as every man at his first conception has a distinct soul, so has every nation a particular genius allotted to it. To these considerations we may add also the advantage of these rites, which does especially recommend these deities to men; for whereas all the reason that asserts a divinity, is in a great measure in the dark, whence can we better derive our knowledge of the gods, than from the remembrance and instances of our former prosperity? Now if antiquity be sufficient to render religion venerable to us, we ought to preserve that faith which hath continued for so many ages, and to follow our parents, who herein happily trod in the steps of their progenitors. Let us imagine Rome itself now present, and thus pleading her cause before them:



“ ‘O you best of princes, you fathers of your country, reverence my gray hairs, which the rites of religion have brought me to, and grant that I may serve heaven with the formerly-established ceremonies, for I do not repent me of them. Let me live according to my ancient customs, being a free city. It was this way of worship brought all the world under my laws, these rites kept Hannibal from my walls, and repelled the Gauls from the capitol; and have I been heretofore so often rescued that I may, now I am grown old, be handled with severity? Shall I see what new institution this is? Sure I am, to reclaim old age is an unseasonable, fruitless, and dishonourable undertaking. We therefore beg your leave, and in that, security for our country gods, and for our private deities. It is but just, that that divinity, which all men adore, should be esteemed but one. We cast our eyes on the same stars, the heaven is in common, and the same world encloses us. What matters it, by what methods men make inquiry after truth? One path does not lead to the knowledge of so great a secret.’

“ But (it may be objected) these are the discourses of men who are at too much leisure. We now tender you our petitions; we do not dispute, or contend. Consider what great benefit has accrued to your exchequer, by taking away the privileges and revenues of the vestal virgins? Our most liberal and munificent emperors deny that, which the most frugal and parsimonious freely gave; and which the vestals regard only as it is an honourable stipend and recompense of their chastity. For as their veil is an ornament to their heads, so it is one of the insignia of their priesthood, that they are exempted from all sort of offices; it is but the bare name of freedom from impositions which they desire, for their poverty secures them from all great payments. But perhaps it may be said, those men advance their reputation that lessen their revenue, because those virgins, who have dedicated themselves for the public safety, gain in 'merits what they lose in their revenues. But let such methods of filling your coffers never be practised: the treasury of good princes is not to be augmented by the ruins of the priests, but by the spoils of their enemies; and will the greatest gain make compensation for the envy which will attend you?

“ But because covetousness is a vice with which you are unacquainted, this makes their case the more deplorable who have lost their former subsistence. For whatever is alienated under those

princes, who have conquered the love of riches, and hate rapine and extortion, only turns to the detriment of him who is the loser, but gratifies no appetite of him that seizes it. The lands, which were given by the will of your dying progenitors to the vestals and their officers, are now detained by your exchequer; but let me beseech you, O you ministers of justice, that your city may enjoy the private legacies bequeathed to holy uses. Let men securely make their last wills, and be assured they have not to deal with covetous princes, but such who will ratify what they have bequeathed. Delight, I beseech you, to make the world thus happy. This one example creates great disquiets to all dying persons; doth the religion of the Romans not come under the protection of the Roman laws? By what name shall we call the alienation of the sacred patrimony, which no law, no accident ever made liable to confiscation? Freed-men receive legacies, nay, servants are not denied the privilege of having what is bequeathed to them by will; only the noble virgins, and the attendants on these ceremonies, upon which the fate of the empire does so much depend, are ejected out of their estates, which have devolved on them by inheritance. To what purpose is it to vow virginity for the safety of the republic, and to call in the assistances of heaven to eternize your empire, to assist your armies, and to second your troops with unseen but friendly powers, and to make ardent and effectual prayers for the safety of all your subjects, and at the same time to be denied those common privileges which belong to them equally with the rest of your people? It is better at this rate to serve men than the gods. We injure the commonwealth, which never yet got any thing by being ungrateful. Let no man think, I am now only an advocate for the cause of religion; such attempts as these have been the source and original of all the calamities that have befallen the world.

“Our parents testified the honour they had for the vestal virgins, and the priests of the gods by making laws for their competent maintenance and honest privileges; and this donation continued in its integrity till the days of our degenerate bankers, who have converted the revenues of sacred chastity into a stipend for the vilest porters: a fact presently attended with a public famine, and all the provinces were deceived in their expectations of a plentiful harvest: the fault was not in the earth,

nor do we charge it upon the stars; no rust did eat it, nor was it choked with darnel. It was the sacrilege that was then committed, that made the year barren; for who could expect to have bread, when the religious were robbed of their dues? Verily, if there be any other example of a like calamity, let us impute their great famine only to chance, or to the various seasons of the year; a dry wind was the cause of this barrenness; and now men live upon the buds of trees, and the poorer sort of boors are again forced to eat acorns. Did our forefathers ever lie under such astonishing judgments, when the ministers of religion were maintained by an honourable allowance out of the public treasury? When were men forced to shake the oak for meat, or to sustain themselves with the roots of herbs? When ever happened it, that the wants of one place were unsupplied by the plenty of another, as long as the corn was in common distributed to the people and to the sacred virgins? for the provisions made for the priests were a primary cause of the fertility of the country, and it was rather a kindness done to your land, than a piece of charity to the holy men. Do you make any doubt, whether that was anciently given to procure a general plenty, the taking away of which the present scarcity has sufficiently revenged?

“But some men may say, there is no reason that the expenses of another religion should be borne by the public: let such a determination never find a place in the minds of our excellent princes, that what was given to a few persons to hold in common, should be accounted as if it belonged to the public revenue; for whereas the whole commonwealth does consist of single persons, whatever proceeds from the republic becomes presently the propriety of individuals. You, we acknowledge, superintend and govern all things; but, withal, you are the keepers of every man's liberties, and justice sways more with you than insolent licentiousness. Do but consult your own munificent thoughts, whether they can esteem those things to belong to the public which you have already appropriated to other uses. Whatever profits have been once devoted to the honour of the city, cease from thenceforwards to belong to the donors; and what was in its original a largess, by custom and time becomes a debt.

“That man therefore attempts to fill your sacred mind with a vain fear, who affirms, that you are conscious of being accessory, and consenting to the donation, unless you incur the envy of



cancelling such grants. May all the unknown tutelary deities of all sects and opinions be favourable to your clemency ; but, above all, may those powers which were so propitious to your ancestors become your guardians, may they defend you, and you adore them. We intercede for no other religion, but that which secured the empire to your majesty's sacred father, which gave that fortunate prince a legitimate issue to succeed him ; that blessed prince looks down from heaven, and beholds the tears of the priests, and looks upon the breach of their privileges, which he kept inviolable, as an affront put on himself. Afford also this assistance to your brother of blessed memory, as to rectify what he did by other men's counsels rather than his own ; and conceal that action of his, which he was ignorant was so displeasing to the senate ; for it appears now, that therefore the ambassadors we sent were debarred his presence, lest the public determination might come to his knowledge. It is for the honour of the past transactions, that you make no scruple to abolish that which we will make appear was no act of that prince's."

III. Such was the plea which this man of policy and eloquence made for his religion ; and it was the best the cause would bear. Whereunto St. Ambrose, much advantaged by the goodness of his cause, returned this following answer.

"Ambrose, Bishop, to the most blessed Prince and most gracious Emperor Valentinian the August.

"Whereas the most excellent governor of the city, Symmachus, hath made an address to your majesty, that the altar which hath been removed from the Roman senate-house might be restored to its pristine place and honour ; and you, O emperor, though of green years, yet of gray-headed piety, have disapproved the request of the Gentiles ; in the same moment that I heard of the petition, I offered this anti-remonstrance, in which although I have taken care to insert whatever might be necessary to answer his strictures, yet I demanded a copy of his narrative : I do therefore in this discourse answer all the reasons of his relation, not out of any distrust of your constancy in the faith, but out of a provident caution, and a strong persuasion, that you will impartially examine the merits of the cause ; presuming to beg this one favour of your majesty, that you would pass your

judgment, not according to the flourish and eloquence of the expressions, but the weight and moment of the arguments: for 'the tongue of the wise and learned man (as holy writ informs us) is as choice gold,' which being enamelled with the ornaments of discourse, and embellished with the beautiful structures of eloquence, as so many pleasing and well-mixed colours in a picture, by these methods charms the eyes, and so makes an entry into the mind, and by such representations engages the passions; but the gold, if you narrowly inspect it, though in its extrinsic value it be money, in its intrinsic is but metal. Examine, I beseech you, and canvass the religion of the Gentiles; they boast of matters of great value and excellence, but in truth they defend what is enfeebled and worn out with old age, and incapable to prove truth on its side; they talk of God, but they adore idols.

"Three things the most excellent prefect of the city hath made use of in his relation, upon which he lays the greatest stress of his defence: that Rome, as he says, is an humble suppliant for the retrieval of her ancient rites; that it is injustice to alienate the patrimony of the priests and the vestal virgins; and that when the attempt was made, there happened a general famine. In the first proposition, the venerable metropolis of the empire is introduced, covered with tears, and expressing her griefs in a passionate and persuasive oration, requiring the restoration, as he makes her speak, of her pristine ceremonies, for that this was the religion that expelled Hannibal from the walls, and recovered the capitol out of the hands of the Gauls: by which method of reasoning, while he strives to magnify the puissance of the Gentile deities, he betrays their impotence. Did not Hannibal a long time insult and trample on the Roman rites? and though your gods fought against him, did he not so successfully pursue victory, that he encamped his triumphant army under the very walls of the city? Why did they suffer themselves to be besieged, for whom their gods took up arms? As for the Gauls, to what purpose is it to speak of them, whom the shattered relics of the Roman forces had never been able to have opposed, had not their enemies been betrayed by the noise of the affrighted geese? See what guardians are deputed to the charge and tuition of the Roman temples. Where was your adored Jupiter at that time? Was it he who, in the shape of a goose, called

Manlius to the rescue of the capitol? But why should I deny that the heathen rites have given assistance to the Roman arms? for even Hannibal himself worshipped the same mock-deities. Let them therefore choose which they will own: if the heathen ceremonies were triumphant in the Roman conquest, they were overcome and baffled in the Carthaginians; if the men of Carthage by the assistance of their gods got the victory, what advantages did the inhabitants of the Roman empire receive from the same tuition? Let therefore that invidious complaint of the Roman people be stifled: that great city never issued out any such commission, but with greater reason addresses herself to her children in a far different harangue.

“‘To what purpose do you tire me with your multiplied sacrifices, and dye me with the blood of the innocent herd? The trophies and signs of victory are not legible in the fibres of a beast, but in the courages of the militia: I used other methods of discipline, when I put on laurel for the conquest of the world. It was the valour of Camillus that defeated that triumphant army which had taken possession of your walls and the fortifications of the capitol, and retrieved those standards which the gods themselves could not defend; and those whom religion was too weak to affright, his bravery destroyed. Why should I remark the achievements of Attilius Regulus, who conquered for the Romans by dying for them? Scipio Africanus won his glory, not by lying prostrate before the altars in the capitol, but by charging the troops of Hannibal, and reaping triumphs with his sword. Tell me not that these were the observances of the ancients: I hate those ceremonies that were used by the Neros. Why should I mention those emperors whose reign was of no longer duration than a month or two, and whose funerals immediately succeeded their assuming the royal purple? Or is that a new thing, that the Barbarians have deserted their own habitations to make irruptions into the Roman territories? Were those emperors Christians, when, by an unparalleled but miserable example, the father wore chains in Persia, while his son trampled on the liberties of the senate and people, and gave mankind a specimen, that the promises of victory which the Augurs made them were vain and fallacious? Was there not at that time an altar of Victory? I am ashamed of my former failings; and, notwithstanding my gray hairs, these reflections cover me with



blushes. I am not troubled to be, with the rest of the world, a convert in my old age; and the reason is, because it is never too late to be wise, and to be good. Let those aged persons blush, who are past the hopes of amendment. It is not length of years, but piety of manners that gives an honourable character; nor is it a disgrace to change at any time for the better. In this only was my condition like that of the Barbarians, that I had no knowledge of the true God.'

"The manner of your sacrifice is to be sprinkled with the blood of slaughtered cattle; and is it reasonable to expect the oracles of the living God from the entrails of a dead beast? Come and learn on earth the practice of an heavenly warfare; we reside in this world, but there is the scene of our engagements. Let me learn the mysteries of heaven from that God who made me, not from man, who cannot give a rational account of himself: who can give an account of God better than himself? And how should I credit you, who confess yourselves, that you understand not what you adore? For, says he, one day's journey will never bring a man to the acquaintance of such grand mysteries; but what you are ignorant of, that we understand by divine revelation; and what you seek for by conjectures and guesses, that we are assured of by the wisdom and veracity of our God. In these things, therefore, there is no agreement between you and us. You are suppliants to the emperors, that they would be favourable to your gods; but we are petitioners to the Son of God, that he would be propitious to the emperor: you first make a god, and then adore it; but we think it a great injury to the Deity, to imagine that that must be accounted a god which owes its being to a man. God is not willing to be worshipped in images cut in stone; nay, your very philosophers make a sport of such ridiculous observances. But if you therefore deny Christ to be God, because you cannot believe that God could die, (for you are ignorant that it was only his human nature that fell under the power of the grave, while his divinity was exempted, which hath now rescued all his followers that believe in him from death,) who can betray more imprudence than you, who, when you pay your devotions, affront the Deity, and derogate from his worth, while you pretend to treat him with honour, as you do in making a block your god, and paying divine honours to it? a most disgraceful piece of worship. And

while you refuse to believe that Christ could die, do you not by this very obstinacy do honour to him?

“But the ancient altars (as he goes on) ought to be restored to the images, the ornaments to the temples. Let them tender such a petition to an heathen prince; a Christian emperor knows no honour due to any but the altar of Christ Jesus. Why do they compel the hands and mouths of holy men to administer to the promotion of their sacrilegious designs? Let the tongue of our prince be employed in resounding the praises of his Saviour, and celebrate him only, whose goodness he experiments, because ‘the heart of the king is in the hand of God.’ Did ever any of the heathen emperors erect an altar to Christ? While therefore they petition for the restoration of what was formerly theirs, they give the Christian emperors an encouragement by their example to consider, what deference they ought to pay to the religion which they profess, while the Gentiles postpone all things to their superstition. While we have begun, let us go on; we (being excluded) glory in our sufferings, they are troubled at their losses; and what they account an injury, we reckon among our trophies: they never did us greater honours or favours than when they passed their edicts, that all the servants of Christ should be scourged, should be banished, should be martyred; what their infidelity thought a punishment, that religion turned into a blessing. View those men of invincible courage, and you will find our belief has been increased and propagated by injuries, poverty, and death itself; while they are persuaded, that unless their religion be maintained by the public, it can no longer continue in being.

“Let, says he, the vestal virgins enjoy their immunities. Let those discourse at that rate, who cannot be convinced that virginity may be preserved without a recompense to encourage the undertaking; let those give money to maintain chastity, who distrust the strength of their virtue. And yet what is the number of those virgins, who are thus hired to maintain their purity? When you reckon all that are admitted vestals, you can scarce find seven who have taken the vows upon them; and yet these are the multitude of votaries, who are known to be of this society by the peculiar dress of their heads, by the pompousness of their purple robes, by their numerous attendants on each side of their chairs, by their great privileges and their rich

revenues, and by a set number of years which they are obliged to consecrate to virginity: let them but seriously contemplate, and look on our professors; they may see all ages, sexes, and qualities in love with modesty, chastity, and virginity. The curious fillettings of their hair is far from being an ornament of their heads; let them put on a coarse veil, that may become famous by its serviceableness to the interests of chastity: a virgin is then best adorned, not when she strives to augment, but when she slights the charms of her beauty; it is not the richness of their purple nor the delicacies of luxury, but frequent fastings and continued mortifications, that give a lustre to their performances, not their privileges, not their revenues: to conclude, all the practices of our virgins are such, that you would think the design of advancing chastity is rather hindered and restrained, while the duties of it are exercised; but on the contrary, while the offices of chastity are performed, the study of it is promoted; for chastity is truly advanced by that which to you seems to destroy it. She is not a virgin, who is swayed by profit, not by the dictates of virtue, to be so; nor is that true purity, which must be purchased for such or such a time, by those that will offer most to maintain it. The first victory that true chastity makes, is to subdue the love of money; for covetousness is the greatest enemy to, and most potent supplanter of modesty.

“But let us take it for granted, that the virgins ought to be maintained at the charge of the public; how shall the Christian votaries be taken care of, what exchequer shall be sufficient to provide for them? Or if they answer, that these endowments are the peculiar patrimony of the vestals; are they not ashamed, who usurped the whole income under the heathen emperors, not to permit us to be sharers with them under those who are Christians? They also make complaints that the priests, and other officers of religion, are not provided for at the public charge, and want that alimony which is their due; and upon this subject what a noise, what a multitude of complaints disturb our ears? While, on the contrary, by some late-made laws, the religious among us are denied the privilege of being enfeoffed in private patrimonies; and no man complains, for we never reckon such things as injuries, because we are never troubled at our loss. If any man, being a priest, plead his privilege, thereby to be exempt



from secular offices, he must upon that account renounce his whole estate, both what was derived to him from his ancestors, and what was the product of his own industry.

“ Had the Gentiles such an occasion of complaint, with what aggravations would they inveigh against it, that a priest could not purchase the privacy and exemptions of his ministry with less than the loss of his whole patrimony, nor maintain his commerce with heaven without the forfeiture of his earthly possessions, while he that watches and prays for the public safety must embrace domestic poverty as his recompense, comfort himself with the conscience of having gotten praise, but done nothing that might prostitute the honour of his ministry? And now compare the cases; you are willing to excuse civil officers, but the church shall have no power to excuse a priest. The officers of the heathen temples are not denied the benefit of last wills and testaments: the most profane, the most profligate, and the vilest of men, are allowed that privilege; only the clergy are exempted from having a share in that common right, who are the only men that intercede with heaven by their supplications for the common good, and by all their actions promote it. They are made incapable of legacies and donatives, even of rich and charitable matrons; and whereas they lie under no impeachment against their manners, their very office and employment is enough to subject them to this punishment: if a Christian widow should bequeath any thing to a heathen temple, that conveyance stands good in law; but if she gives a legacy to the ministers of the true God, it is void and of no effect: which I mention not to vent my passion against the law, but that they may know, though we have cause, yet we make no complaints; for I had rather our revenues should be diminished, than our respect. But it is objected, that whatever has been given, or bequeathed to the church, hath not been violated; and let themselves tell us, who ever robbed and took away such endowments from their temples, when yet the Christian church hath been a sufferer in that kind? And if such things had been done to the Gentiles, it had been rather a requital of an old, than a doing of a new injury; and do they now at length complain of their hard usage, and demand equity? Where was this equity then, when the poor Christians, after they were stripped of their estates, were denied also the very privilege of

life, and, by a piece of unpractised barbarity, were debarred the benefit of sepulture, which was every man's birthright? While those whom the Gentiles tumbled headlong into the sea, the waves, more kind than their persecutors, brought back again to the shore, in order to their interment. And this also is a new victory of our faith, that they themselves now condemn those inhuman actions of their ancestors: and (with shame to them be it spoken) what reason is there that they should beg the continuance of their offices, whose actions they condemn? And yet, after all, no man ever yet denied the temples their offerings, or the priests their legacies; their lands only are taken away from them, because what they held by the title of religion, they used only to irreligious purposes. They who plead our example for enjoying such estates, why do they not also dispose of them to such good ends as we do? The church hath no patrimony but her faith; that is her rent, that her income; the lands of the church are the possessions of the poor.

“ Let them tell me what captives were ever redeemed, what hospitals maintained, what exiles provided for by the incomes of the temples? The estate is taken from them, but put to the right use. Behold, this is the crime, this the sacrilege which heaven is said to be angry for, and nothing less than a public famine can expiate, because whatever served to advance the interests of the priests was the cause of general advantages to the people.

“ For this reason, say they, did the languishing multitude rend the shrubs, and then suck the juice of them; and being forced from their better food, were made fellow-commoners with the herd, necessity compelling them to feed on acorns: strange prodigies, forsooth, and such as never happened while the world was enslaved to the Gentile superstition; whereas, in truth, long before this, the covetous husbandman hath been deceived of his hopes, and his expectations have been blasted like the corn, on which he depended; and how came it to pass, that the oaks were accounted oracular among the Greeks, but because in those days they looked on it as an extraordinary favour of the gods to direct them to the use of such meat as grew in the woods? for even such things do they reckon among the largesses of their gods. Who but the Gentiles ever worshipped the oaks of Dodona's grove, while they, upon such sorry food, were content to

bestow the name of "the holy grove?" It is not therefore likely, that their angry gods did inflict that as a punishment, which the same gods formerly were accounted to bestow as their peculiar favours; and what justice is there, that they, out of resentment of the injuries done to a few priests who had lost their livelihood, should take a pet against all mankind, and plague them with a famine? why should their revenge be more rigorous than the crime? The provocation, therefore, was not great enough to make the whole world uneasy, by deceiving it of its hopes in annihilating the happy presages of a plentiful harvest. And, in truth, long before this had the Gentile temples lost their privileges throughout the world; and was it never in the thoughts of the gods to revenge the affronts put upon them till now? Was it for this cause that the Nile did not swell according to its wonted course? Was it to revenge the losses of the Roman priests, when it never did so, to vindicate the cause of its own priests at home, who yet were involved in the same calamities? But let us take it for granted, that the last year the gods appeared to their own vindication; how comes it to pass, that this year they are so impotent and despicable? For now the boors are not necessitated to feed on the roots of herbs, nor are their greatest dainties berries, or the fruits that grow on thorns; but being happy beyond expectation, they admire the plenty of their harvests, and with this year's extraordinary increase, make compensation for the last year's fasting: thus has the earth paid what she owed us with interest.

"What man, therefore, is so unacquainted with the accidents of human life, to be astonished at the difference of seasons in point of fertility? yet even the last year, in more than a few provinces, the crop was abundant; what, shall I mention France more fruitful than usual? Pannonia sold the surplusage of their corn, which was left after they had sown their ground, and the country of the Grisons in point of plenty became the envy of her neighbours; for whereas heretofore it was secured and fenced from inroads by its barrenness, now, by its wonderful fertility, it gave occasion to its enemies to invade it; and all Liguria and the country of the Venetians lived upon the income of that harvest: it was not therefore sacrilege that blasted the former year, nor religion that caused every thing the next year to flourish. They may also deny that the vineyards were pros-



perous, whereas we know, that the vintage made us happy with an extraordinary increase, of which we reap the advantages.

“The last and most cogent argument is yet left for a reserve, whether you, O emperor, are not bound in honour and conscience to restore those endowments which have proved so beneficial to yourselves; for, says he, let the gods be your guardians, and let us have the liberty to adore them. This is that, O most Christian princes, which we cannot endure, because they upbraid us with the sacrifices they offer to their deities for your welfare, and against your commands commit the most notorious sacrilege, taking your connivance for consent. Let them keep their titular deities to themselves; let them, if they be able, defend their own votaries; and if they want power to protect their bigoted proselytes, how can it be expected they should superintend your affairs, who slight their worship?

“But, says he, we ought in civility to maintain those rites which our forefathers established; and why so? is it because all things grow to perfection, as they grow in years? Was not the world at first one confused and indigested chaos, in which all lay huddled together without form and order? and did it not look beautiful, when the hand of God made a separation between heaven, earth, and sea, and confined each within its proper bounds? When the earth, being newly risen out of its moist bed of darkness, wondered to see a bright sun darting its benign and enlightening beams upon it. Even in the ordinary course of nature, the day is ushered in with an ambiguous light, and by degrees the sun gets strength enough, both to enlighten and to warm the world. The moon itself, the properest emblem of the church in the sacred oracles, grows by degrees to its fulness: for renewing her light once every month, at first the shadows of the night are too strong for it, and eclipse its splendour; but when a few days have filled her sharp pointed horns, and she lives at a distance from the sun, she gives the night the assistances of her beams, which supply the want of the day. The old world was ignorant of tillage: but when once they began to understand the art of husbandry, and saw the face of the earth covered with corn, and the rude soil clad with vineyards, how easily did they, who observed it could be manured, put off their old brutish manners, and leave them for the civiler arts of conversation and

society? Nay, the spring itself, which inclines mankind to a correspondence with nature, in process of time is covered with leaves, that are ready to drop from the trees, and brings forth later fruits. And is it not so with mankind also, who, in our infancy have the thoughts, and pursue the delights of children, but when we grow to maturity, are ashamed of such imperinencies? If all things therefore must continue as they were at the beginning, then we have reason to be angry, that the world broke from its dark prison, to which it was confined, and exerted itself into the region of light and visibility. And is it not a nobler acquisition to set the understanding free from the night of ignorance, than to rescue the earth from shadows and obscurity? and do not the beams of truth shine more benignly upon the mind, than the rays of the sun upon the eyes? All things therefore in nature have suffered their alterations, that your gray-headed religion might also follow the example. For those who will be yet swayed with the argument, let them be angry with autumn, because, being one of the latest seasons, it matures our fruits; let them quarrel with the vintage, because it happens in the declining part of the year; and let them slight the olive, because it is the last ripe of fruits: now our harvest is the conversion of souls, that they may be brought into the church; our vintage is the service of God, so as to inherit his favours; which service from the beginning of the world was eminent in a few saints, but in these last ages is made known to the whole world, that all men might take notice, that the Christian faith made its way even into the best cultivated minds. For that man cannot expect the crown of victory who has no adversaries; whereas the sacred verities justly grew famous by baffling the opinions that opposed their admittance.

“If only the ancient ceremonies are pleasing, why did Rome herself change her rites of worship? I omit to remark how the history of after ages altered their ancient coarse manner of living, by changing their homely cottages into stately and pompous edifices; why, that I may answer to the point, did they, who were fondly in love with every new religion, admit the gods of their conquered cities, together with their own triumphant deities and their foreign rites, into their temples? How comes it to pass, that the goddess Cybele washes her chariots in the river Almon, in imitation of what is done by the

priests in Phrygia? Why have we fetched priests out of that country to attend her altars, and enfranchised the Carthaginian deities who were always looked on as enemies to our grandeur? The goddess which the Africans call Urania, the Persians Mitra, but most others worship under the name of Venus, is the same deity under divers denominations. And so was Victory looked on as a goddess too; which is only a blessing given from above, but has no empire of her own, and depends more upon the strength of armies than on the influences of religion. That certainly therefore must needs be a venerable and potent goddess, who owes her very being to the numbers of an army, and the event of a battle.

“The altar of this goddess is petitioned for, that it may be new erected in the court of the Roman city, i. e. in that very place where great throngs of Christians daily meet; every temple hath its altars, and there is an altar in the temple of Victory; because they delight in multiplicity, they every where offer their sacrifices. What is this, therefore, but to trample upon the Christian rites, while they are so earnest to restore the oblations upon this altar? And can that be suffered, that a heathen should offer his sacrifices where a Christian is present? Let all who are present, says he, though against their wills, expose their eyes to be blinded by the fumes, their ears to be polluted with the profane music, their throats to be crammed with the ashes of the burnt-offerings, their nostrils infected with the odours, and their faces, though turned the other way, covered with the sparkles that arise from the flames. Are they not satisfied, that our public baths, our porticos, and streets are filled with the images of their gods? And shall not the condition of every person that hath a place in that common council be equal? Shall that part of the senate who have embraced Christianity have their consciences imposed upon by the asseverations of those that make protestations, and the oaths of those that swear at that altar? If they oppose such proceedings, they shall appear to betray a lie, and if they acquiesce, they shall countenance the sacrilege. ‘Where, says he, shall we swear to observe your laws and sanctions?’ Must therefore your determinations, which are included in the laws, want a confirmation from the ceremonies of the Gentiles to oblige to fidelity, not only those that are present, but those also that are absent? And what is more, O most



sacred emperors, your own honour is affronted; for you compel, if you command such things.

“The august emperor Constantius, of venerable memory, being not yet made a Christian by baptism, thought himself polluted, should he but see that altar; he commanded it to be taken away, not to be restored: that action of his carried its authority and vindication with it; but this hath nothing of imperial sanction to plead for itself: let no man please himself because this is wanting, for a man may be truelier said to be present, who is conversant with our minds, than he who is the object of our corporeal eyes; for the nearest union is that of souls, not of bodies. The senate meets only on the summons of your writ, and to you they swear fealty, not to the imaginary deities; your interests they prefer to their own and children’s welfare, but not to their religion. This is a charity highly to be desired, and of more value than the power you enjoy, as long as religion and fidelity is preserved, which are the security of your empire.

“But perhaps it may move some to distrust, that so pious a prince [as Gratian] was so deserted and betrayed, as if the value of men’s merits must be estimated according to his present adverse fortune: for what wise man is there who hath not sufficiently experimented, that all human affairs run round in a circle, and fall under various chances with respect to success, fortune never continuing kind to the same person? Was there ever a more fortunate man than Cneius Pompey, who went into the world under the protection of the Roman deities? And yet at last, when he had worn laurel for the conquest of three parts of the world, being baffled, routed, and banished beyond the limits of his own empire, he fell by the hand of an infamous Egyptian eunuch. Could the Eastern part of the world ever boast of a more puissant prince than Cyrus? And yet he, when he had triumphed over all his enemies, and yet spared the subjects of his victories, lost his life and honour at last by the assaults of a woman. And that very king, who allowed his conquered adversaries the liberty of princes, having his head cut off and thrown into a vessel filled with blood, became the scorn of female pride, which bid him ‘sate himself with what he loved.’ So great a difference and variety is there in the lives and fortunes of such men. Was there ever any man a more exact and punctual religionist than the Carthaginian captain Hamilcar; who,

in the midst of his squadron, even during the engagement, continually made his oblations; and when he saw his party routed, threw himself into the fire which he had kindled, that he might with his blood extinguish those flames which he found, too sadly to his cost, were no way instrumental to make him victorious? To what purpose shall I mention Julian, who, giving too easy credit to the responses of the augurs, deprived himself of the opportunity of returning out of Persia? Therefore the same kind of suffering is not always the effect of the same sort of crime. For our promises never deceived those that confided in them.

“This answer have I writ to those who provoke us, as one who is no way provoked; for my design in canvassing this address, was not to expose their bigotry, but to confute their arguments. And yet, sir, this very address of theirs may well engage you to more caution; for whereas their orator relates of your progenitors, that ‘the remoter of them were admirers of these rites, the more immediate no enemies to them;’ and presently adds, ‘If the piety of the ancients does not incline you, let the connivance of your nearest relations encourage you;’ he plainly instructs you what veneration you owe to the Christian faith, not to countenance the Gentile rites; and what to piety, not to violate your brother’s injunctions. For if they think it a sufficient argument for the promoting their cause, to plead the connivance of those princes, who, though they were Christians, yet made no alteration in the Gentile ceremonies, how much more are they obliged to think it reasonable that you should pay this respect and kindness to your brother? that although you did not really like what he had done, yet you should connive at it, that you may not put an affront upon his laws, but that you should ratify and confirm what you are convinced is at once a demonstration of your own piety, and an instance of love and kindness to your brother.”

IV. The emperor was abundantly satisfied with this excellent reply, and so the petition fell to the ground: and Symmachus himself was in danger to have done so too, being accused to the emperor for pulling Christians out of their churches and casting them into prison; yea, that he had apprehended the bishops of the neighbouring cities, and had imprisoned them; whereat

Valentinian was greatly angry with the provost, commanding the persons to be released: all which Symmachus wiped off in a letter to the emperor,<sup>r</sup> shewing, that the whole was a feigned scene of pure malice and envy, founded upon no other pretence, than a strict inquisition his majesty had commanded him to make, for some furniture that had been embezzled; that as to the charge, he was sufficiently vindicated by the letter of pope Damasus, clearing him from any rugged or injurious usage to his party, by the judicial acts upon record, and by the testimony of the prætorian prefect, to whom the emperor had referred the examination of the case. Afterwards, upon occasion of a warrant directed to the counts Jovinus and Gaudentius to deface the pagan temples, Symmachus renewed his petition,<sup>s</sup> and that too in the name of the senate, for the altar of Victory, in an address to Theodosius, but with no better success than before. For St. Ambrose (the court then being at Milan) presently undertook the cause, and managed it before the emperor with so much acuteness and dexterity, that the attempt vanished into nothing; and Symmachus himself, for his insolent undertaking, was thrust out of the emperor's presence, and commanded to be put into a naked coach, without any trimming or ornaments, and that very day to be carried an hundred miles out of town, and there to remain in a kind of banishment. And what further increased the displeasure against him at court, was this: when Maximus marched into Italy, Symmachus complimented his arrival in a flattering panegyric,<sup>t</sup> for which he was charged with high treason; and fearing the extremity of punishment, fled for sanctuary to the church, which before he had so much despised and scorned. But Theodosius, inclined by the sweetness of his temper, pardoned him, in a grateful sense whereof he published an apologetic for the satisfaction and in commendation of the emperor; and so far wrought himself into favour, that not long after, he had the honour of the consulship conferred upon him: all which, though happening at several times, we have here laid together.

<sup>r</sup> Symmach. l. x. Epist. 34.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Prosper. de promiss. par. iii. c. 38.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 14.



## SECTION IV.

HIS ACTS FROM HIS CONTEST WITH SYMMACHUS TILL HIS SECOND  
EMBASSY.

Symmachus the means of bringing St. Augustine to Milan. A short account of St. Augustine's first years, education, studies, and religion. His coming to Rome. Sent by Symmachus to teach rhetoric at Milan. Ambrose's kindness to him. Preparatives towards his conversion. The strange and extraordinary manner of it. His baptism and preferment to the see of Ilippo. A law published at Milan in favour of the Arians. Benevolus stoutly refuses to draw it up. Attempts upon Ambrose. The mutiny of the people quieted by him. The great numbers of the Arians at Milan. Ambrose challenged by Auxentius to a disputation. His defence and answer presented in writing to the emperor. A church demanded for the Arians. His answer to the emperor's officers. His encouragement given to the people. Antiphonal hymns introduced by him into the church of Milan. This quarrelled at by the Arians. The great confusions in the city. Insolent demands of the Arians. Warrants for the seizing several persons. Ambrose's answer to the commanders concerning the imperial authority. Guards set upon his church. His sermon to the people at that time. The discourse between him and the emperor's secretary. His generous answer to Calligonus. The discovery of the bodies of saints Protasius and Gervasius, martyrs in the reign of the Antonini. Several miraculous cures effected by them, reported by St. Ambrose, Augustine, &c. then present. The credibility of these miracles, with respect to the state of things at that time and place. The translation and entombing of these remains, and St. Ambrose's sermon upon that occasion. Several attempts made by the Arian party upon St. Ambrose's life.

BUT before we take leave of Symmachus, it is but just we should pay a tribute of thankfulness to his memory for being, though undesigningly, the happy occasion of converting the great St. Augustine to the church, and that by the ministry of our venerable prelate. Augustine was a man of a great wit, excellent parts, and a complete furniture of polite secular learning. He was born at Tagaste,<sup>a</sup> a city in Africa, of honest parents, Patricius and Monica, both Christians, but his mother a woman of incomparable piety. As he grew up in years, he drank in learning with a mighty thirst, wherein within few years he attained that eminency, that he taught grammar in his native town, and soon after rhetoric at Carthage. For his religion (though therein all possible care was taken of him by his good mother) he had very little concernment, and, to mend the matter, engaged himself in one of the worst of sects, that of the Manichees; whereinto he was inveigled by the insinuations of Faustus, bishop of that

<sup>a</sup> Possid. vit. August. c. 1. August. Confess. l. v. c. 7. vol. i. p. 112.

sect, then newly arrived at Carthage. Wearied out with the wranglings and contentions of the schools at Carthage, he laid down his employment, and, contrary to the desires and persuasions of his mother, resolved for Rome, where he understood he might promise himself more quiet opportunities for his study, where scholars lived under a more severe and regular discipline, and were more tractable and observant of their masters. But he found not things to answer his expectations; for having opened his school, he perceived it was the custom for students to flock apace to a new master, but after a while to desert him and run to another, and thereby defraud him of his salary. This gave him enough of Rome, and it was not long before Divine Providence opened a better way for him. For orders being come from the court at Milan to the provost of Rome, to provide a fit person to be professor of rhetoric at Milan, and to send him thither at the public charge; Symmachus, who had before particularly taken notice of him, pitched upon Augustine, and sent him thither, where he arrived about the year 384. Ambrose, who knew how to value a scholar, quickly cast his eye upon him, and entertained him with singular kindness and humanity, which made no small impression upon him. He duly attended St. Ambrose's sermons, not out of any desire he had to be instructed in matters of faith, but out of curiosity to take the just measures of his eloquence, whether it answered the renown which fame had spread abroad concerning it. However, he was caught when he least designed it, the holy man's discourses making their way by continual droppings, till they reduced him to a right mind, and brought him off from all the lewdnesses of his former life. One of the first steps towards his conversion, was his renouncing Manichæism; and having got his foot out of that snare, he went over to the Platonists, entering his name among the academic sect, a tribe of philosophers of greatest vogue at that time. But he found no satisfaction there, and shortly after wrote against them. His mother, impatient of his absence, and passionately desirous of his welfare, was in the meantime come to Milan, where, by her prayers and tears, by her devotions both in public and private, she ceased not to solicit heaven for a happy success; and now she found the good effect of what a grave bishop had long since told her,\* when she un-

\* Confess. l. iii. c. 12. vol. i. p. 96.

weariedly importuned him to discourse her son, in order to the reclaiming of him: "Go thy way (said he) and compose thyself, for it is not possible that a son of such tears should perish:" an answer which she received with a profound reverence, as if it had been an oracle dropped from heaven. Great pains St. Ambrose had taken with him, and he had been plied with the counsels of good old Simplician, but still the crown of this great man's conversion was reserved for the more immediate hand of heaven. In a great hurry and distraction of thoughts concerning his condition, he retired one day, with his dear friend Alypius, into the garden;<sup>y</sup> where having spent some time, partly in conference, partly in silent meditations, he withdrew himself into a more solitary part to give vent to the tumults and agitations of his mind; and throwing himself down under a fig-tree, began, with abundance of tears, to bewail that God still remembered against him the iniquities of his youth, beseeching him effectually to hasten his reformation, that he might not put it off (as too long he had done) till to-morrow, but that it might commence from that very moment. Immediately he heard a shrill voice in a kind of melody oft echoing to him, "Take up the book and read." He did so, and the first place he cast his eye upon was that of St. Paul; "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envy; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." He read thus far, and shut to the book; and on a sudden all his dark thoughts vanished, and a light of joy and comfort overspread his mind. And now he resolved to quit his profession of rhetoric, and entirely to devote himself to Christianity; and having continued two years in the state of a catechumen, he was baptized by St. Ambrose, (which he was wont to glory in, as no small part of his honour,) and together with him his son Adeodatus, (whom he had by a concubine that he kept,) a youth of fifteen years of age, but of that prodigious forwardness, that his father stood amazed at the greatness and pregnancy of his parts.<sup>z</sup> But this too early ripe fruit, God soon after transplanted into heaven. Being thus baptized and confirmed in his religion, he returned into Africa, was made bishop of Hippo, and became

<sup>y</sup> Confess. l. viii. c. 8. 12. vol. i. p. 152.

<sup>z</sup> *Horrori mihi erat illud ingenium, et quis præter te talium miraculorum opifex?*  
Ibid. l. ix. c. 6. vol. i. p. 162.



one of the most famous lights for learning and piety that ever shined in the Western church.

II. Looking back to Milan, we find the Arians getting ground. Justina had so plied the young emperor Valentinian, as to procure a law (bearing date anno 386) in favour of the Arian party,<sup>a</sup> and all that embraced the faith agreed upon in the synod of Ariminum, that they might freely hold their public assemblies without interruption; and that whoever attempted to hinder the execution of this edict should be proceeded against as disturbers of the church's peace, authors of sedition, and guilty of high treason. Benevolus,<sup>b</sup> master of the paper office, and a zealous catholic, whose place it was to dictate and enrol the laws that were passed, being sent for to draw up this edict, refused to do it. The empress gave him good words, and persuaded him with promises of better preferment: but the man was proof against those temptations; and taking off his girdle (which among the Romans was a sign of discharge from their service) he threw it at her feet, and plainly told her, he would neither hold his present office, nor be bribed with any higher dignity, as the wages of unrighteousness. He being dismissed, others were substituted in his place, and the law was framed and passed. Justina, thus armed with the royal authority, began to think of putting it in execution. And first Ambrose is sent for to court,<sup>c</sup> to try if any thing by fair means could be done upon him; the emperor, encompassed with his great officers, treating with him in the consistory about the delivery of the church according to the imperial edict. The people hearing that he was gone to the palace, flocked after him in such vast numbers, as struck a terror into the whole court; and when the commanders and officers were despatched with a party to suppress and stop them, they all offered themselves to martyrdom. So that they were forced to entreat the good bishop to use his interest with the people, to quiet their minds, and assure them that the church should not be invaded. With which assurance the multitude dispersed; and that done, his enemies at court failed not to lay the envy of the tumult at his door.

III. The number of Arians daily increased at Milan, flocking thither from all parts, to shelter themselves under the warm

<sup>a</sup> Ext. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. de Fid. Cathol. l. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Ambr. Orat. in Auxent. ad calc. Epist. xxi. s. 29. vol. ii. p. 871.

wing of the empress; and a bishop they had now got placed over them, Auxentius a Scythian,<sup>d</sup> who had fled out of the East, and finding the memory of Auxentius, St. Ambrose's predecessor, still so odious and distasteful to the people, had changed his name into Mercurinus. A bold man he was, and to give some reputation to his cause, challenged Ambrose to a disputation before the emperor, having secretly designed four or five Gentiles as judges, who he knew would be ready to pronounce any thing on his side, and that the final decision should be given by the emperor. This St. Ambrose rejected as an unfit way, and an uneclesiastical method of proceeding; whereupon Auxentius began to triumph, and desired the emperor, that he might be compelled to dispute with him in the consistory: in compliance wherewith a day was set, and Dalmatius the tribune sent to him with a command to appear. "The holy bishop thought it safest to return an answer in writing to the emperor,<sup>e</sup> wherein he humbly remonstrated, that this proposed method of disputing was contrary to the laws enacted by his majesty's father of blessed memory, which commanded that all matters of faith and ecclesiastic order should be determined by none but competent judges, and who were of the same profession; that is, that bishops only should have the cognizance of episcopal causes: that this had always been the law and practice of the church, which his father would never violate, nay, had expressly declared, it was none of his business to judge between bishops, and this after many years' profession, and being baptized into the church. Needs therefore must his majesty be unfit to assume to himself to decide the nicest articles of faith, who was himself unbaptized, and a catechumen in the faith; and no doubt he himself would be of that mind, when age and experience had reduced him to a more mature judgment of things: that he knew not who his adversary was, nor whence he came, but that it was a sign he distrusted the goodness of his cause, when he was ashamed to produce the names of those persons whom he had chosen for his judges: that if the matter must be put to such an issue, let them come to church, and, upon hearing, let the people indifferently judge for themselves; if they shall like Auxentius better, much good may it do them, let them take him: but the people

<sup>d</sup> Ambr. Orat. in Auxent. ad calc. Epist. xxi. s. 22. vol. ii. p. 369.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. Epist. xxi. vol. ii. p. 360.

had already declared their sense, having earnestly petitioned his father that they might have him for their bishop, and that emperor had promised him all security if he would but accept it; that he could not so far debase his office, as to submit the cause to a lay-judgment, nor be so unfaithful as to refer it to the arbitrament perhaps of Jews or Gentiles; that he abhorred the council of Ariminum, and kept close to that of Nice, from which neither torture nor death should make him flinch; if disputes must be about matters of faith, let them be in the church, and managed by bishops, the course that had been ever held in the best times, in the reigns of Constantine and Constantius. If Auxentius in this case appealed to a synod, (though it was not fit that so many bishops should be troubled for the sake of one man, who, if he were an angel from heaven, ought not to be preferred before the peace of the church,) he was ready to attend such an assembly; let the late law be reversed, and then let them try it; that he was most willing to have obeyed his summons to the consistory, but that both the bishops that were with him, and the people cried out, that questions of faith ought not to be treated of but in the church, and that to do otherwise were to betray the church of Christ. He besought him therefore to accept his excuse in not appearing at the consistory, in which place he had never learnt to stand for any thing but his majesty's rights; nor could he dispute within the palace, the secrets whereof he neither did, nor desired to understand." All which he subscribed thus, "I, Ambrose, bishop, have presented this libel to the most happy and gracious emperor Valentinian, the august."

IV. This free and impartial dealing let them see at court, that fair means would never gain the point they aimed at, and therefore they now resolved to proceed by force and cruelty; Auxentius moving,<sup>f</sup> that a party of soldiers might be sent to give him possession of the church: accordingly, tribunes were sent to demand the church,<sup>g</sup> and together with it the plate and vessels belonging to it, whereat the congregation were infinitely amazed and frightened. But the holy bishop calmly answered the officers, that had the emperor sent to demand his house or land, his money or his goods, or any thing within his power, he would freely have resigned it to him, but the church of God might not

<sup>f</sup> Orat. in Auxent. s. 17. p. 868.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. s. 4. et 10.



be robbed or spoiled, nor could he deliver that which was committed to him to keep, not to betray; that herein he consulted his majesty's truest welfare and interest, the things demanded being neither fit for him to deliver, nor for the emperor to receive; that for the people, they should be quiet in their minds; his life in this case was not dear unto him, and that he was secure in the care of the Divine Providence. It was not a little observable, that one of the lessons read that day in the congregation was the story of Ahab,<sup>h</sup> demanding Naboth's vineyard, and the poor man's resolute answer, "God forbid it me, that I should give thee the inheritance of my fathers." The pious prelate was mightily animated with the passage, and turned it thus upon the officers, "God forbid, that I should part with Christ's inheritance; if he would not that of his fathers', shall I betray that of Christ? The inheritance left us by our fathers, Dionysius the martyr, who died for the faith in banishment, Eustorgius the confessor, Myrocles, and all the rest of the holy bishops of this church. I have given an answer as becomes a bishop, let the emperor do as becomes an emperor; I will sooner lose my life than the faith." And then he proceeded to improve the second lesson, which happened to be no less apposite than the former, being the story of our Lord's whipping the buyers and sellers out of the temple. The spirits of the people, during this tragical and melancholy scene of things, were kept up and refreshed with divine hymns and psalms;<sup>i</sup> at the end of each whereof there was a solemn doxology, to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the people answering their part by turns. This way of antiphonal or responsory singing was generally practised in the Eastern church, and had been lately introduced by St. Ambrose into the church of Milan, being not till then known in the West, though hence soon propagated into all parts. The people were infinitely pleased and delighted with it; and St. Augustine, who lived at this time at Milan, confesses he was so ravished and transported with the psalmody of that church,<sup>k</sup> that it melted down his soul into divine affections, and the holy passion quickly vented itself into rivers of tears. The Arians, who, with the spider, knew how to suck poison out of every flower, said,<sup>l</sup> that

<sup>h</sup> Orat. in Auxent. s. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 3. August. Confess. l. ix. c. 7. vol. i. p. 162.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. c. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Ambr. Orat. in Auxent. s. 34. vol. ii. p. 873.

this was but a trick of Ambrose to cheat the people, and to tie them faster to his party. Whereto he replied, that if he did cheat them, it was to their own advantage, the people by this means greedily learning, and daily confessing the belief of the sacred Trinity, and becoming masters in the knowledge of that, wherein they would otherwise have scarce been disciples.

V. For some days together the city was full of confusion, parties running up and down from place to place, the courtiers and great men coming with messages to demand the church,<sup>m</sup> and returning back with answers to court; nor did they now content themselves with requiring the Portian church that stood without the walls, they would have the great cathedral, newly built within the city. The provost began calmly to persuade the Catholics to quit, however, the Portian church, but the people would not hear of it, so he went back to give an account to the emperor; St. Ambrose in the meanwhile entertaining the people with an oration against Auxentius, wherein he gives them an account of what had passed, and the attempts of Auxentius and his party. The next day, being Sunday, after sermon, the catechumens being dismissed, he was gone to the baptistery to baptize the *competentes* that stood candidates for that ordinance; when he was told, that officers were sent from court to the Portian church, that they had hung up curtains, and that a great many of the people were flocking thither: he, nothing moved, went on with the divine service, but before he had done he was acquainted, that the people having met with Castulus, an Arian presbyter, in the street, had in a great rage laid hands upon him, and it was to be feared what might be the effect of an intemperate zeal. Hereat the good man was truly troubled, and with prayers and tears besought God, that no man's blood might be spilt in this quarrel, but that rather his own might be shed, not only for his friends, but enemies; and immediately he despatched away some presbyters and deacons, who recovered the man safe out of the hands of the people. The report of this accident made a great noise at court, and the louder we may be sure by being handed by inveterate enemies. And now warrants are sent out for apprehending and arraigning several persons, which fell first upon the society of merchants and tradesmen; and at this holy time, (for it was now the great Passion-week,)

<sup>m</sup> Id. Epist. xx. vol. ii. p. 852, etc.

which was wont to be honoured with the release of prisoners, nothing was heard but the rattling of chains, and the requiring vast sums of money in a little time; which many professed they were ready to pay, and as much more if they pleased, so they might but be suffered to enjoy the faith. By this time the prisons were full of tradesmen, and the magistrates and men of quality severely threatened, if the church was not presently delivered up: the persecution grew hot, and had the church-doors been set open, things had run into the utmost extremity of cruelty and confusion. The commanders and officers in the mean time treated with St. Ambrose about this affair, urging him with the imperial authority, that the emperor, in whose power all things were, did but demand his right: he replied, "Did the emperor demand any thing of mine, my land or my money, I would not oppose him, but those things that immediately belong to God are not subject to the authority of the emperor: if it be my patrimony you seek, take it; if my person, I am here ready for you. Have you a mind to hurry me to prison, or to death? It will be a kindness to me. I will not, I assure you, engarrison myself within crowds of people, nor fly to the altar to save my life, but rather willingly offer it up for the altar's sake." So heartily did the good man desire to prevent the shedding of blood, and those quarrels and combustions, that were likely not only to ruin Milan, but perhaps Italy itself, which he was freely content to have redeemed with the loss of his own life. And espying some officers of the Goths among the rest, he asked them, whether the Roman empire had taken them in, to be the incendiaries of the public peace? If these parts were ruined, whither would they go to find entertainment? Then they required of him to reduce and quiet the multitude. He told them, it was in his power not to set them on work, it was in God's only to calm and pacify them; but if they looked upon him as the spring of the motion, they ought to proceed against him, either by death or banishment.

VI. With this answer they departed, leaving him in the church, where he continued all day, and at night went home, that he might be ready if they came to apprehend him. Early the next morning, before break of day, as he was going out of doors, he found the church guarded by soldiers, who yet had plainly told the emperor, that he might go abroad, if he pleased,



they were ready to attend him if he went to church with the Catholics; if not, they were resolved to go to that place, where-soever Ambrose kept his congregation. It was a dangerous time, and the Arians wisely kept themselves within doors, having no great party among the citizens, but few of the court, and some Goths; the main body of them following the motion of the empress. While the lessons were reading, he was told, that the people were assembled at the new church, and that the congregation was fuller than ever it had been in the most peaceable times, and that a reader was called for. The soldiers that were set to guard the church, understanding the bishop had ordered them to be excluded all communion, came into the church; whereat when the people, especially the weaker sex, were affrighted, they bade them not be afraid, they were come thither to pray, not to fight. The people, however, called upon him to go to the other church, where the congregation did earnestly expect and desire his company. Then taking for his argument the lessons that had been read out of Job, he discoursed to them very appositely to the present circumstances of things, with what admirable courage and patience they had discharged themselves, how vigorously he had borne up against all the temptations of Satan and his agents, and the several attempts which the abusers of the royal authority had made upon him. Next he proceeded to explain a passage read that morning out of the psalms, "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance;" which he applied to the case in hand, especially to the Goths, and some other barbarous people's seizing upon the church. He hoped that in this time, by the intercession of the soldiers and officers, and by the supplications of the people, the edge of the emperor's zeal might be taken off, when it was told him, that a notary was come with orders from the emperor, with whom he went aside to receive his message, which thus began. What came into your mind (said he) thus to act contrary to command? What was commanded, (replied the bishop,) or what has been thus rashly acted, I know not. Why (said the notary) did you send your presbyters into the church? I desire to know whether you intend to usurp the empire, that I may know how to prepare to deal with you. Ambrose answered, that he had done nothing in prejudice of the church; that when he heard the soldiers had seized it, he had only entertained the news of it with

a sigh: many had urged him to go thither, but he told them, I cannot deliver up the church, and I may not fight for it; but that as soon as he understood that the curtains which had been put up in the church for the emperor's apartment were taken down, (which in truth the boys in wantonness had torn in pieces,) he had sent thither his presbyters, but refused to go himself, (though the people pressed him to it,) saying, I hope in Christ, the emperor himself will be on our side: that if this was tyranny, he had arms indeed, but only, in Christ's name, power to offer his body to the sword; and if he thought him a tyrant, why did he delay to strike? That it was even proverbial, that "emperors were more desirous of the priesthood, than priests of empire;" and Christ himself ran away, when they would have made him king; that he had his tyranny it is true, but such as lay in weakness, according to that of the apostle, "when I am weak, then am I strong;" that Maximus himself would not accuse him of tyranny towards Valentinian; while he confessed, with some regret, it was by the power of his embassy he had been kept from invading Italy; adding, that bishops had never played the tyrants, but had often suffered very hard things from them. The day was spent in mourning and sadness, and the bishop forced to lodge in the church all night, the soldiers guarding it so close, that none were suffered to go out, so they passed the time in singing psalms. The next day, being Passion-day, the prophecy of Jonah was read in course, several parcels whereof he expounded and applied, and was upon that, that if the prophet had so much pity on the short-lived gourd, how much more should God have of so great a city, and that therefore he had removed the judgment from it; when word was brought him, that the guards were commanded off the church, and the several sums that had been exacted of the tradesmen ordered to be restored. The whole city hereupon put on a new face, and every corner was full of gladness and joyful acclamations; the soldiers running up and down with the good news, and going up to the altar, did by their kisses signify the public peace. St. Ambrose, though sharing in the common joy, had reason to fear, that as to himself the storm was not yet quite blown over. He knew he was introduced at court as a tyrant; and when the great officers pressed the emperor to comply with the petition of the soldiers, and to go to church, he had answered with some passion, "I believe, if

Ambrose should command it, you would deliver me up to be a prisoner:" words that presaged no kind intention towards him, but that it was evident, who it was that blew up the coals. Nay, Calligonus, the eunuch, chief gentleman of the bed-chamber, than whom none better understood the intrigues at court, told Ambrose to his face, "Dare you presume, while I live, to affront the emperor? I will take off your head." Whereto the holy man replied, "God Almighty, if he please, suffer you to make good your threatenings; I will suffer as becomes a bishop, do you what becomes an eunuch. But from such God defend his church, upon me let them turn all their rage and spleen, and quench their thirst with my blood." And the divine vengeance is singularly remarkable in this case. For this impotent eunuch afterwards, for attempting to ravish a woman,<sup>n</sup> was convict, and lost his head.

VII. The people, during these confusions, attended the public offices with great vigour and sprightliness of devotion, flocking after St. Ambrose wherever he went. He had newly finished the dedication of a church,<sup>o</sup> and the people called upon him to do the like to the Basilica Romana. He told them he was ready to do it, could he find any remains of martyrs, which he might repose and bury under the altar, which was the custom of dedicating churches in those days.<sup>p</sup> Nor wanted he an opportunity, it being revealed to him in a vision at night, in what place he might find them. Forthwith taking to him the officers of the church, and the persons that waited there for imposition of hands, he commanded them to dig before the rails that encompassed the tombs of St. Felix and St. Nabor, the martyrs; nor had they dug far, when apparent signs shewed themselves, and at last they discovered the bodies of two proper persons, their bones entire, and both corpses all fresh besprinkled with blood, the head only of one severed from the body. These proved to be the bodies of St. Protasius and Gervasius: the one beaten with cudgels, and then beheaded; the other whipped to death with *plumbatae*, or scourges with leaden bullets at the end

<sup>n</sup> August. contr. Julian. l. vi. c. 5. vol. x. p. 1293.

<sup>o</sup> Ambr. Epist. xxii. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 874. Serm. xci. vol. iii. p. 320. ed. 1567. August. Confess. l. ix. c. 7. vol. i. p. 162. De Civit. Dei. l. xxii. c. 8. s. 2. vol. vii. p. 663. Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 3. Vid. Martyr. Rom. Jun. 19. p. 376.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Chrysost. Epist. cxxvi. vol. iii. p. 672.



of them : they suffered martyrdom (as may be conjectured) under the reign of the Antonini, and ever since lay obscure as undiscovered, though the more aged persons upon this occasion called to mind that they had heard the names of these martyrs, and had read their inscriptions. For two whole days the people crowded to behold the relics of those venerable martyrs ; after which, in the evening, they removed them, first into the church of St. Fausta, where they watched all night ; the next day they translated them into the Ambrosian church ; and God was pleased to honour the solemnity with very signal miracles : for one Severus, a butcher, who had been blind for many years, and by reason thereof had been forced to give over his trade, and was maintained at the charge of several charitable persons, a man known to the whole city, hearing the bustle made in the procession, inquired what it was ; and being told, commanded himself to be led thither, and prayed he might but touch the bier with his handkerchief, which being done, he no sooner applied it to his eyes, but immediately he recovered his sight. Several that were possessed with evil spirits, upon their touching the martyrs' bodies, found themselves rid of their tyrannical inmates, and returned home well. Towels and handkerchiefs were brought and laid upon the bodies, and many, who did but touch the cloths wherein the martyrs were wrapped, were presently cured of their infirmities and distempers. The truth of which miracles are abundantly justified by St. Ambrose, Augustine, and Paulinus, who were all then upon the place, and indeed were notoriously evident to the whole city, and twice the subject of St. Ambrose's sermons. And I make no doubt but God suffered these miracles to be wrought at this time on purpose to confront the Arian impieties, and to give the highest and most uncontrollable attestation to the truth of the catholic cause, so mightily at this time opposed, traduced, and persecuted. Indeed the Arians were strangely nettled at it, and, knowing no better way to evade the force of the evidence, denied that they were martyrs ; and when that would not do, boldly denied matter of fact, that ever any such miraculous effects had been wrought, whenas the persons upon whom they had been wrought were at hand, and in the common view of all : a greater piece of infidelity (as St. Ambrose observes) than that of the very devils that were cast out, who believed and

trembled; the devil confessing what the Arians did deny. Nay, they gave out,<sup>q</sup> that Ambrose had hired persons for money to feign themselves possessed, and to say that the evil spirits were tormented by the martyrs. But heaven soon confuted this malicious insinuation: for on a sudden, one in the crowd was seized with an evil spirit, and cried out, that they were really tormented in the same way that he was, and that this should be the portion of those that disowned the martyrs, and disclaimed the catholic doctrine. The Arians, confounded with this testimony, had no other way but to endeavour to stifle it, to which end they got the man into their hands, privately murdered him, and threw him into a fish-pond. But to return.

VIII. The corpses being brought into the Ambrosian church, and the fame of the miracles noised abroad, St. Ambrose went into the pulpit, and preached to them upon that occasion,<sup>r</sup> taking for his argument the former part of the nineteenth psalm, then read, "The heavens declare the glory of God," &c., which he managed suitably to that solemnity. The sermon ended, he would have proceeded to the interment of the bodies, but the people unanimously besought him, it might be deferred till the next Lord's day; at length it was agreed it should be done the next day, when St. Ambrose preached again,<sup>s</sup> and pursued his former subject, particularly reflecting upon the idle cavils of the Arian party, and their prodigious obstinacy and incredulity, in rejecting such evident and immediate testimonies from heaven against them. So the holy martyrs were deposited in triumph, and laid up in expectation of a glorious resurrection. And though Baronius, to justify those relics of these martyrs, which the church of Rome shews at this day, says more than once,<sup>t</sup> that St. Ambrose reserved part of them, both for himself and for the use and ornament of other churches: yet, sure I am, St. Ambrose, who best knew, says the contrary; that they buried them entire, and placed every joint in its right order; *condidimus integra, ad ordinem transtulimus*, as himself expresses it.<sup>u</sup> The Arians, however, endeavouring to make head, were so overpowered on all hands with stronger evidence and a better

<sup>q</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Ext. Sermon. in vol. iii. p. 320. ed. 1567. Epist. xxii. vol. ii. p. 874, etc.

<sup>s</sup> Sermon. xci. in vol. iii. p. 320. ed. 1567.

<sup>t</sup> Ann. 387.

<sup>u</sup> Not. ad Mart. Rom. loc. cit.

cause, that they thought it best, for the present, to let things sleep, and so the persecution ceased. Howbeit Ambrose wanted not enemies at court, that sought not only to murder his reputation, but to take away his life. Among the rest, a desperate assassin pressed into his bed-chamber with a drawn sword,\* and, as he was lifting up his hand to give the stroke, his arm grew stiff, and shrunk up: amazed whereat, the man confessed that he had been set on and sent by the empress Justina; and upon his penitent confession had the use of his arm restored to him. Nor did they cease here, but raised up hell itself, and set it on work against him: one instance whereof, which the same author reports, may suffice. After Justina's death, Innocentius, a conjurer, at his examination and torture before the judges for the charge of sorcery, answered not directly to the interrogatories, but cried out, that he was extremely tormented by St. Ambrose's guardian angel, for that, in the time of Justina, to beget an ill opinion of the bishop in the minds of the people, he had got up to the top of the church, and there offered sacrifice at midnight: notwithstanding which, and all the tricks of his black art, the people had still a greater reverence and devotion for him: that he had sent demons to kill him, who confessed, that they could not come near him; no, nor near the door of his house, which was guarded round with fire, that scorched at a distance, whenever they attempted to approach the place.

## SECTION V.

### HIS ACTS FROM HIS SECOND EMBASSY TILL THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN.

The fears in Italy of Maximus's invasion. Ambrose prevailed with to undertake an embassy to him. His arrival at Triers, and dispute about his reception. The discourse that passed between Maximus and him in the consistory. The great freedom and impartiality of his discourse. He refuses communion with the usurper. His return, and account of his embassy. Domninus, sent in his room, deluded by Maximus. Maximus invades Italy, is encountered by the emperor Theodosius, routed, and put to death. Ambrose's intercession with the emperor in the case of the Jewish synagogue. His plain dealing with him, and prevailing to repeal the edict. The murder of the emperor's general at Thessalonica. Warrants issued out for revenge. The miserable slaughter committed in that city. The letter of St. Ambrose and a synod to the em-

\* Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 4.



peror Theodosius, suspending him from church-communion, till public repentance and satisfaction given. St. Ambrose's impartial discourse to him at the church-door, denying him admittance. The great sorrow and resentment of the emperor. His passionate desire of being reconciled. His absolution over-confidently undertaken by Rufinus. The emperor's coming to church, and public expressions of sorrow and repentance. His absolution. Admonished by Ambrose to receive the communion without the rails. His high commendation of Ambrose's courage and impartiality. Jovinian and his errors condemned by Ambrose and a synod at Milan. Valentinian's expedition into France. Slain there by the treachery of Arbogastes. St. Ambrose's oration at his funeral.

“WHEN a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him,” yea, and sometimes to fly to him for advice and safety ; which eminently happened in this case. News daily came to Milan of Maximus's preparations to invade Italy. They were infinitely surprised and troubled at court, and being in no capacity of defending themselves, threw themselves upon St. Ambrose, whom they besought to stand in the gap ; and as he had successfully managed a former embassy, so he would now venture a second time, and oppose himself against the arms of the prosperous usurper. The good man, burying the memory both of public and private injuries, readily undertook the journey,<sup>y</sup> and arriving at Triers, where Maximus resided, the next day went to court. He was met by a French eunuch, chief gentleman of the bed-chamber, of whom he demanded, that he might have audience. The eunuch asked whether he had any credential letters ; the bishop replied he had. Whereupon the other acquainted him, that he could not be admitted but in consistory, or the place of public audience. He answered, that was not the way wherein bishops were wont to be treated, and that he had affairs of importance that were to be privately communicated to his prince. Then he went in to acquaint his master, but brought back no other answer : to which the bishop rejoined, that this way of treatment was unsuitable to the character that he bore ; however, he was resolved not to be wanting to the business he had undertaken, and was glad he had an opportunity of making his particular concerns stoop to the interest both of his living and his deceased prince. Maximus being sat in council, Ambrose was introduced ; at whose coming in the prince rose up to give him the kiss, according to the usual salutation of bishops and great men in those times. But Ambrose stood still among

<sup>y</sup> Ambr. Epist. xxiv. ad Valent. imp. vol. ii. p. 383.

the counsellors, who persuaded him to go up nearer to the throne, telling him the emperor called him. What discourse passed between them, was in this ensuing dialogue.

AMBROSE. I wonder you should offer the kiss to one whom you do not own, for if you did, you would not give me audience in this place.

MAXIMUS. Bishop, you seem to be much in passion.

AMBR. I am more ashamed than angry, to see myself in so unsuitable a place.

MAX. At your first embassy you came into the consistory.

AMBR. That was no fault of mine; it was his that summoned me, not mine that came in.

MAX. Why then did you come in at all?

AMBR. Because I then came to require peace from you as an inferior, now, it seems, as an equal.

MAX. How do you mean equal?

AMBR. By the favour of Almighty God, who did not only give, but has preserved the empire to Valentinian.

MAX. You have imposed upon me, and so has Baudo; who, under pretence of securing the young emperor, sought to transfer the empire to himself, and to that end sent an army of barbarous people against me, as if I had not forces enough to oppose against him, having so many thousands of those barbarous nations constantly under my pay. And had not I then been detained, when you came upon that embassy, who could have opposed me, or have stopped the course of my victory?

AMBR. Be not angry, sir, there is no cause for it, but calmly hear my reply. I am come, because you complain, that whilst you hearkened to me at my first embassy, you were deceived by me. But I account it an honour to undergo all this for the sake of an orphan prince. For whom should we, that are bishops, defend, if not orphans? It being commanded by the law of our religion, "judge the fatherless, plead for the widow, and relieve the oppressed:" and elsewhere, "he is a father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows." But I intend not to reproach Valentinian with my good offices. To come to the point: Where did I ever oppose your army, and hinder your passage into Italy? What rocks did I throw in your way? What forces? What legions did I encounter you with? Did I with my body stop up the Alps, and render them unpassable to you?

I would it were in my power so to do, I should not fear any complaints or objections you could make against it. With what promises did I ever delude you, to make you consent to a peace? Did not you yourself send count Victor, whom I met not far from Mentz, to desire peace? How then did Valentinian deceive you, from whom yourself first prayed peace, before ever he sent to demand it? In what was it that Bauto beguiled you, while he only testified his care and fidelity to his master? Was it that he did not betray his prince? What was it wherein I circumvented you? At my first arrival, when you said that Valentinian ought to come to you as a son to his father, I replied, it was not reasonable that an infant prince with his widow mother should pass the Alps in the extremities of winter, and to do it without her, was in that juncture of affairs to run the greatest hazard; that our embassy was only for peace, not to undertake for the emperor's coming, nor could I engage for what was not within my commission, and sure I am, I never did promise any thing in that matter; so that yourself said, let us wait and see what answer Victor will bring with him, who, while I stayed with you, arrived at Milan; where his demands were rejected, and he was told, peace was the business sought on both sides, and not the emperor's journey, who could not stir; and I was present at his return. How then did I hinder Valentinian? After this, ambassadors were despatched into France to deny them passage, and they met me at Valentia in France; and at my return, I found the passages of the Alps guarded by both parties. How did I then divert your armies? What troops of yours hindered I from going into Italy? What Barbarians did count Bauto send against you? Though it had been no wonder if he, being by nation a Barbarian, had done it, when you yourself threatened the Roman empire with your barbarous forces, whom you keep in pay with the money that is usually levied upon the provinces. See now the difference between your fierce threats, and the sweetness of the young emperor Valentinian. Nothing would satisfy you, but with your Barbarian troops to break in upon Italy; while Valentinian diverted the Hunns and the Alani, who were coming down through Germany to fall upon Gaul. And wherein had Bauto been to blame, if he had set the Barbarians together by the ears? For while you made yourself master of the Roman forces, and he,



on the other side, prepares on all hands to defend himself, the Juthungi in the meantime waste the country of the Grisons in the very heart of the empire; and to suppress these Juthungi are the Hunns called in, who, when they were upon their march, and near at hand, were forced to retire, and desert their intended conquest, that you might not be alarmed and disturbed. Compare the case; you caused the country of the Grisons to be wasted, Valentinian with his own money purchased your peace. Behold your own brother, that stands there at your right hand, whom, when Valentinian might have sacrificed him to his passion, he honourably dismissed back to you. He had him in his power, and yet at the very instant when the news of the bloody assassination of his brother Gratian was brought him, conquered his just resentment, and generously scorned to repay like for like. Weigh the case, and be yourself judge in this matter. He sent you back your brother alive and well, do you return him his though dead. Why should you deny him the remains of his brother, who did not deny you assistances against himself? But you are afraid, that at the sight of his body the grief of his soldiers should stir afresh; for so you pretend, that they will revenge his death, whom they deserted when alive. Why should you fear him being dead, whom you slew when it was in your power to have preserved him? You will say, it is like, I did but kill mine enemy: no, he was not your enemy, but you his; he is now incapable of making, or being gratified by any defence that can be made for him. Consider but your own case. Suppose any one in these parts should at this time make head against you, and usurp the empire; I desire to know, whether you would account yourself his enemy, or him yours? If I mistake not, it is the usurper makes the war, the emperor does but defend his right. And can you deny his ashes, whom you ought not to have put to death? Let Valentinian have his brother's remains, at least as pledges of the peace. Can you pretend, you commanded him not to be killed, whom you forbid to be buried? Who can believe but you begrudged him his life, whom you envy the ease and honour of a grave? But to return. I understand you take it ill, that Valentinian's friends fled rather to the emperor Theodosius than to yourself: and could you ever expect it to be otherwise, when you sent to demand those that fled, that you might bring them to condign punishment, and put to death

as many as you got within your power, while Theodosius rewarded and preferred those that fled to him?

MAX. Whom did I put to death?

AMBR. Bailio, a gallant man, and a brave commander; and was it cause enough to take away his life, that he was faithful to his prince?

MAX. I did not command him to be put to death.

AMBR. It was so reported with us, that he was commanded to be slain.

MAX. Indeed, had he not laid hands upon himself, I had given order that he should be carried to Cabilonum, and there burnt alive.

AMBR. It was not then without ground, that the report went abroad that you had killed him. And who could hope to escape, when so great a commander, so stout a soldier, so useful an officer, was put to death?

II. With this freedom and impartiality did the holy man treat the tyrant, a man would have thought to the immediate peril of his head. But for that time they parted fair, Maximus promising to enter with him into a treaty of peace. But finding afterwards that he refused communion with him, and all the bishops of his party, (who were generally of the Ithacian sect,) he grew angry, and in a passion commanded him forthwith to depart the court. He wanted not friends that advised him to look about him; there would be snares and ambushes laid for him; and that the usurper was too much galled with his freedom and plainness not to seek revenge. Before he departed, he interceded in the behalf of one Hyginus, an aged bishop, who was then ordered to be banished, that at least he might be furnished with provisions fit for a person of his age and quality, and not be thrust out without a garment to cover him, or a bed to lie on; but was repulsed in his address, and himself thrust out of doors. So he returned to Milan, gave the emperor an account of his embassy, and withal advised him to be cautious how he treated with Maximus, a concealed enemy, who pretended peace but intended war. And just so he found it. For, not satisfied with Ambrose's legation, he despatched Domninus,<sup>z</sup> a prime favourite at court, upon the same errand, whom Maximus entertained with all the obliging caresses and demonstrations of honour and

<sup>z</sup> Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 42.

respect; and as a further instance of his kindness and friendship towards Valentinian, sent back with the ambassador a considerable part of his army to assist the emperor against the barbarous people that were then falling in upon Pannonia. Coming to the Alps, the soldiers on a sudden, as they had been commanded, secured all the narrow and difficult passages; which was no sooner done, but Maximus followed after with his whole army, and finding no opposition, marched directly into Italy, taking up his quarters at Aquileia. The news of this unexpected surprise carried terror along with it into every place. Valentinian and his mother, fearing to fall into the enemy's hand, immediately took ship, and fled to Thessalonica, whence they sent to the emperor Theodosius, to represent the sad circumstances of their affairs, and to pray his speedy assistance before all was lost. Maximus, in the meanwhile, went on with all the rage and fierceness that could attend a conquering enemy, filling all those parts with spoils and slaughter.<sup>a</sup> And though we read not particularly that Milan suffered any thing in the common calamity, yet was not St. Ambrose less affected with the miseries of his brethren, multitudes whereof were undone, others taken captive, for whose relief and redemption he set all the springs of charity on work; and when all other methods of contribution were exhausted, he broke in pieces the rich communion plate belonging to his church,<sup>b</sup> which he caused to be distributed for the ransom of captives. The Arians indeed afterwards laid this to his charge, (it was the same plate he had denied to them,) but he despised their malice, and defended himself from the piety and seasonableness of the act. All this while Theodosius, though earnestly solicited, and though he had on purpose removed to Thessalonica, yet moved but slowly in the expedition,<sup>c</sup> till falling in love with Galla, Justina's youngest daughter, a princess of incomparable beauty, he could obtain her upon no other terms than an immediate prosecution of the war against the usurper. And now the expedition went on apace; and Maximus, suspecting that Theodosius would make his voyage by sea, (as indeed he had put Justina and her children on board to be shipped for Rome,) had made all his preparations to encounter him there, whenas he passed with his army by land

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Ambr. Ep. xxxix. s. 3. vol. ii. p. 944. Ep. lix. p. 1016.

<sup>b</sup> Id. de Offic. l. ii. c. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Zosim. l. iv. c. 43.



through Pannonia, and the straits of the Apennine hills, and so came by surprise upon Aquileia, where a vanguard of the army entering the city, seize upon Maximus, pull him off the throne, divest him of his imperial robes, and bring him bound to Theodosius; by whose command, after some severe reproaches, but especially at the instance and clamour of the soldiers, he lost his head: by which means the fortunes of the empire were happily resettled, Valentinian restored to his dominions, and peace to Italy.

III. While Theodosius stayed at Milan,<sup>d</sup> news was brought him of a great violence and injury that had been offered to a Jewish synagogue in the Eastern parts. For it seems some Christian monks, celebrating the festival of the Maccabees, had, in their procession as they went about singing psalms, been affronted by some Jews, and some of the followers of the old heretic Valentinus; upon which some Christians set on fire the church belonging to those heretics, together with a neighbouring synagogue of the Jews. The *comes Orientis* presently sent a relation of it to the emperor, and the report lost nothing by going. Theodosius was highly exasperated with the fact, and forthwith gave order that the monks should be proceeded against, and that the synagogue should be rebuilt at the charges of the bishop of that place. Ambrose was then at Aquileia, where hearing of the case, he despatched a letter to the emperor,<sup>e</sup> beseeching him to recall his edict, and to admit his mediation; telling him, if he were not worthy to be heard in this petition to the emperor, there was no reason why he should be heard whenever he petitioned heaven for the emperor: he offered to take the crime upon himself, and, if the emperor pleased, to undergo the punishment. It was possible, he said, the count of the East might make the case worse than indeed it was; however, that it would be an intolerable scandal to Christianity, that Jewish or Gentile temples should be erected out of the revenues of the church, and that the patrimony of Christ should be thrown away upon pagans and infidels: the Jews might then justly put up this inscription in the front of their synagogue, *TEMPLUM IMPIETATIS FACTUM DE MANUBIIS CHRISTIANORUM*; "The Temple of Impiety built of the spoils of the Christians." But for the present

<sup>d</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 5. Vid. Zonar. Annal. l. xiii. c. 18.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. xl. vol. ii. p. 946.

he prevailed nothing, till shortly after returning home, and preaching before the emperor,<sup>f</sup> he discoursed upon the wholesomeness of sacerdotal reproof and admonition; an argument which he prosecuted with great life and vigour, and to the infinite satisfaction of the auditory. In his sermon he brought in our Lord, thus speaking to the emperor: "I raised thee from a very mean condition to the empire, I delivered thine enemy's army into thine hands, with all his furniture and preparation, and brought his person within thy power; I have placed thy son upon the throne, and caused thee to triumph without any labour or difficulty; and dost thou now cause mine enemies to triumph over me?" He ended his sermon, and as he was coming down the stairs, Bishop, (said the emperor,) have you preached this against me to-day? No, sir, (replied the bishop,) I have not preached against, but for you. I confess (answered the emperor) I decreed hard things against the bishop, when I commanded that he should repair the synagogue. The courtiers that were present told him, that the monks however ought to be punished. Which Ambrose overhearing, replied, My business at this time is with the emperor, I shall deal with you at another rate. So he obtained that the edict should be reversed; nor would he go up to the altar, till the emperor had solemnly engaged his faith that it should be done, which he accordingly did, and then the bishop went up, and administered the holy sacrament, and the remaining offices of devotion.

IV. Two years and longer Theodosius continued in the West, settling affairs, diverting himself from place to place, and enjoying the triumphs of his late victory. During which time a sad accident happened at Thessalonica,<sup>g</sup> that created him no small disturbance and inquietude, and which commenced from a small original. Buthericus (who was commander of the horse in Illyricum) had a coachman, that burning with an unlawful and unnatural passion towards his master's butler, had solicited him to lewd embraces, for which being accused, he was cast into prison. It happened not long after, that there was to be a famous horse-race in the public hippodrome, and this coachman being peculiarly expert at those kind of sports, the people

<sup>f</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 5. Ambr. Ep. xl. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 946.

<sup>g</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 25. Theodor. l. v. c. 17, 18. Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 5. Rufin. l. ii. c. 18. Niceph. l. xii. c. 40, 41.

earnestly requested he might be set at liberty in order to it. But their petition was rejected. The people, impatient of denial, grew presently into a tumult, assaulted Buthericus's house, and killed him; knocking others on the head, and dragging them up and down the streets. The news hereof being transmitted to Theodosius, he fell into a grievous passion, and commanded that the law of retaliation should be turned upon the city, and the sword let loose upon them. St. Ambrose immediately stepped in, and vehemently interceded with the emperor, and so plied the business, that the emperor promised to pardon the riot that had been committed. But the bishop being gone, the great officers at court, deeply resenting the violence and indignity that had been offered to men in public authority, and considering what encouragement unpunished villany might hereafter give to popular fury, pressed the emperor to revenge, and obtained a warrant for execution, which was sent accordingly. And that the thing might be done more effectually, the people were invited to the circus, under pretence of public sports, where the soldiers, without any warning, broke in upon them, and, making no difference, slew all that came next to hand; thence they proceeded into the city, which they filled with blood and cruelty. Nor did strangers fare any better than the rest, all laws of nature and nations being at this time trodden under foot. A merchant had his two sons seized, and haled towards execution; the father followed, and passionately begged their lives, praying that himself might die in their stead, and offering the soldiers his whole estate into the bargain. The most barbarous nature could not but relent a little at such a request: the soldiers told him, their number must be made up, they could not dismiss both his sons; one they were content to spare, and bid him make his choice. And now nature was divided, and began to contest with itself. The good man equally loved both; he sighed and wept, argued and disputed, but could come to no resolution within himself, not knowing which to part with. And in this conflict of thoughts and passions he continued, till they were both slain before his eyes. In short, the slaughter continued three whole hours, and seven thousand were put to death, without any trial or inquiry to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent.

V. So barbarous a massacre was infinitely distasteful to all good men, and to none more than St. Ambrose, who was at that



time synodically assembled with several bishops upon the occasion of some French prelates newly arrived in those parts. They all bewailed the horridness and inhumanity of the action, highly condemned Theodosius, and committed the prosecution of the case to St. Ambrose: who presently wrote to the emperor,<sup>h</sup> laying before him the aggravations of the fact, and the violation of the promise he had made to him, exhorting him, by a public and a sincere repentance, to reconcile himself to God and the church; a course indispensably necessary, before he could admit him to the holy eucharist, or the communion of any of the divine offices. That this was not the result of any stubborn obstinate humour, it being no more than what had been represented to him in a dream, wherein he had seen his majesty coming into the church, at whose approach he had been immediately forbidden from above to consecrate and dispense the holy communion: that nothing but a hearty repentance could restore him, which, if he gave any credit to him, he would immediately set upon; if not, he would not take it amiss, that he preferred his duty to God before the respect that he owed to the emperor. Theodosius having read the letter, began to be troubled, and, to be uneasy in his own mind: he was a good man, and though naturally apt to receive quick impressions of anger, was as soon reduced to a just sense of things. He came back to Milan, and, as he was wont, went to church; but the bishop met him at the church-porch, and forbid him any further entrance. "Perhaps, sir, (said he,) you do not rightly apprehend the horribleness of the massacre lately committed; for though the storm of your fury be blown over, yet reason has not yet recovered its sight, to discern clearly the greatness of the mischief. The imperial lustre, it is like, blinds your eyes that you cannot see your offence, and your power imposes upon your reason. But you should do well withal to keep an eye to the frail and corruptible condition of human nature, and to reflect upon that original dust, out of which we were all made, and unto which we must all return. Let not the splendour of your purple robes hinder you from being acquainted with the infirmities of that body which they cover. You are, sir, of the same make with those subjects which you govern; who are not your subjects only, but in some sense your fellow-servants. For there is one Lord and Emperor of the

<sup>h</sup> Ambr. Ep. li. s. 13—17. vol. ii. p. 1000.

world, the great Creator of all things. And with what eyes then will you behold the temple of this common Lord? With what feet will you tread his sanctuary? How will you stretch forth those hands in prayer, that are still reeking with the blood of the innocent? How will you presume with such hands to receive the most sacred body of our Lord? How will you lift up his precious blood to those lips, which lately uttered so savage a decree for the unjust shedding so much blood? Depart, therefore, and seek not by a second offence to aggravate your former fault, but quietly take the yoke upon you, which our great Lord has from above allotted for you. It is sharp, but it is medicinal, and immediately conducive to your health." The great prince was amazed at so home and severe an entertainment; something he offered by way of extenuation, that even David had been guilty both of murder and adultery. The holy man replied, "Him whom you followed in the sin, follow also in his repentance."

VI. The emperor, now sufficiently sensible of his case, returned back to the palace, and testified his grief by all the expressions of tears and sorrow. Eight months he remained in this penitential state, all which time he wore nothing but mourning garments. The solemnity of Christmas was now near at hand, at the remembrance whereof the emperor, then sitting in the palace, burst out into tears. Rufin, controller of the palace, a bold man, and familiar with the emperor, observing it, asked him what was the cause of his grief, whereat he fell into a more violent passion. "Rufin, (said he,) thou dost but make sport and mock me; thou little knowest the troubles I feel: I weep and bewail my hard fate; servants and beggars may freely go into the house of God, and pour out their prayers to heaven, while the church-doors, and consequently the gates of heaven, are shut up against me: for I remember what our Lord has peremptorily declared, 'Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven.'" "If that be it, (replied Rufinus,) if you please, I will run to the bishop, and pray him to release the sentence." "No, (said the emperor,) you will never be able to persuade Ambrose. I know the justness of the sentence he has passed, and that he will never out of reverence to the imperial dignity betray the commands of God." Rufin persisted in his confidence that he should prevail: and so the emperor gave him leave to go, himself soon after fol-

lowing him, led with the assurance which the other had given him. Ambrose no sooner saw the controller coming towards him, but he abruptly broke out, "Rufin, (said he,) you have put on a shameless impudence: you were the adviser of this massacre, and now you have laid aside all shame, and neither blush nor tremble at so great an assault as you have made upon the image of God." The man fell to entreaties, and told him the emperor would be there by-and-by. "If so, (said the bishop,) Rufin, I tell you plainly, I shall forbid him to enter the church-porch: and if he think good to turn his power into force and tyranny, here I am, most ready to undergo any death he shall allot me." It was no time to stand disputing: Rufin knew the bishop's resolution, and therefore despatched a message to the emperor, to let him know what had passed, and to persuade him to stay at home. The message met him just as he was coming over the market-place, which, when he heard, he replied, "I will go, however, and undergo the shame I have justly deserved." Being come near the church, he stopped; and addressing himself to the bishop, who sat in a room hard by, prayed he might be absolved. Ambrose bluntly told him, that his coming thither was a forcible and violent invasion; that he fought against God, and trod his laws under foot. To which the emperor calmly answered, "I do not affront the established constitutions, nor desire contrary to law to enter within the holy doors, I only beg to be released from the excommunicatory sentence; and that herein you would consider and imitate the compassion and tenderness of our common Lord, and not bar up those gates against me, which our Lord has set open to all penitents." "What signs of penitence (said Ambrose) have you given to so foul a crime? With what medicines have you cured your wounds?" "It is your part (replied the emperor) to prescribe the remedy, to mix the ingredients, to apply the plaister; mine to submit, and comply with the prescriptions." "Since then (said the bishop) you have let the reins loose to rage and fierceness, and that it was not reason but passion dictated the warrant, let a law be drawn up henceforth to cancel all decrees passed in haste and fury; let all warrants that touch life or forfeiture of estates be kept thirty days after signing, that there may be respite for a more mature and deliberate judgment; which time expired, let them who drew up the warrant again present it to you; that



so reason, being freed from the fumes and clouds of anger, may impartially weigh the case, and discern whether it be right or wrong: if it appear to be wrong, it is plain, it ought then to reverse it; if right, to confirm and ratify it; and so, by this delay, the affair will proceed with most advantage." Theodosius readily embraced the motion, which he approved as useful and excellent advice, commanding a law to be drawn up to that purpose,<sup>i</sup> which he immediately signed with his own hand. This done, the bishop pronounced his absolution; whereupon he went into the church, and there throwing himself prostrate upon the ground, cried out with David, "My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word;" and with all the expressions of a holy grief, tearing his hair, beating his forehead, and, with tears running down his cheeks, begged pardon of God and good men. And when the time of offering came, he went up with tears to the communion-table, and having made his offering, stood still within the rails, as the custom was for the emperors to do in the Eastern church. Ambrose, either not knowing it, or taking no notice of it, asked him what he wanted; he answered, he waited to receive the holy sacrament: the bishop sent the chief deacon to him to let him know, that the places within the rails were reserved only for the clergy, that therefore he should go and stand with the rest without, for though the purple made men emperors, it did not make them priests: a rebuke which the good emperor took with an even and composed mind, commanding them to acquaint the bishop, that he had not taken that place out of any pride or arrogance, but because it was the custom to do so at Constantinople; however, that he thanked him for his correction. And it made such deep impression, that at his return to Constantinople he always went and stood without the rails; and when Nectarius, the bishop, asked him why he did so, he answered with a sigh, that he had at length been taught the difference between a prince and a bishop, and had with much difficulty found a teacher of truth, and that Ambrose was the only person he had met with that truly deserved the name of a bishop. Thus ended the contest between Theodosius and St. Ambrose; wherein how far Ambrose

<sup>i</sup> Ext. lib. ix. Cod. Theodos. Tit. xl. l. 13. Cod. Just. lib. ix. Tit. xlvii. l. 20. in utroque tamen loco nomina Gratiani et Coss. male posita sunt.

overstrained the string, I shall not now dispute, remembering I here sustain the person not of a divine, but an historian.

VII. We mentioned a synod that assisted St. Ambrose in the condemnation of Theodosius: it was at that time assembled at Milan, upon this occasion. Jovinian, a secret disciple of Helvidius, had lived some years in St. Ambrose's monastery at Milan, covering ill designs under a veil of piety. At last, he threw off his monastic habit, putting on the most gaudy and splendid attire, and indulging himself in all the modes and fashions, the pleasures and delicacies of a secular life. And because all was nothing, unless he set up for the head of a sect, he vented such doctrines as these: that marriage was a state *cæteris paribus*, of equal merit and perfection with celibacy; that they who had been duly regenerate by baptism, could not be undermined and subverted by the Devil; that the abstaining from some sorts of meats was no whit better than an indifferent usage of them, provided they were used with thanksgiving; and that all who were careful to live according to their baptismal obligation, should have an equal reward in heaven. And methinks, had he taught no worse than this, he had not deserved so loud and severe an outcry to be made against him. But, it seems, (as it is the fate of seducers to wax worse and worse,) he afterwards maintained, that the mother of our Lord, after the birth of Christ, ceased to be a virgin, and had other children; and what is yet worse than that, that Christ did not take true flesh upon him. Being forced to quit Milan, he fled to Rome, where he successfully propagated his opinions, and wrote several books in vindication of them. Pope Siricius presently convened the presbytery of that city, and condemned him and his followers; an account whereof he sent by three presbyters in a letter directed to the church of Milan,<sup>k</sup> where, upon the arrival of some prelates out of France, a synod of the neighbouring bishops was met about this matter. They read Siricius's epistle, and then proceeded to a synodical censure, condemning the men and their *dogmata*; and then writ an answer to Siricius,<sup>l</sup> wherein they commend his care and solicitude in his pastoral station; his diligent watching over the flock against the attempts of wolves; after which, they descend to a particular confutation of Jovinian's

<sup>k</sup> Ext. Conc. vol. iii. p. 433. ed. reg.

<sup>l</sup> Ext. *ibid.* p. 435.

opinions. What became of Jovinian afterwards, and how sharply he was taken up and treated by St. Jerome, but especially by the emperor Honorius, (who ordered him to be apprehended,<sup>m</sup> whipped with *plumbatæ*, or rods with leaden bullets, and to be banished into Boas, an island belonging to Dalmatia, with severe penalties against his disciples and followers,) lies not within my compass to inquire.

VIII. Two years after, viz. anno 392, Theodosius being returned into the Eastern parts, Valentinian went into France, to prepare for an expedition against the barbarous people that were ready to fall in upon those parts of the empire. Count Arbogastes,<sup>n</sup> general of the forces there, a Frank by nation, a man bold and rich, had by bribes and other arts of insinuation mightily endeared himself to the soldiers, and upon all occasions took too much upon him, even in his converse with the emperor himself. Princes are very tender of their liberty, and the royalties of their crowns. Valentinian liked not a controller so near him, and had oft attempted, but in vain, to shake him off. At length he gave him a warrant to discharge him of his command. But Arbogastes bluntly told him, it was not he that had given him that command, nor was it he that could take it away from him, and with that tore the paper in pieces, threw it upon the ground, and went out; and within few days the emperor was found strangled in the palace, on Saturday May the 15th, being then Whitsun-eve. While he lay at Vienne in France, he greatly desired to be baptized,<sup>o</sup> before he engaged with the enemy, and to that end had sent for St. Ambrose to come to him, whose arrival he passionately expected, thinking every day a year. The bishop had put himself upon his journey, and was got on this side the Alps, when he met with the sad news of the emperor's death, whereat amazed, he returned back with a heavy heart. The report hereof being carried to Theodosius, he wrote to St. Ambrose, to take care for an honourable funeral; who, in his answer, gives him an account what materials they had in readiness for it.<sup>p</sup> The body then being conveyed to Milan, was laid up in a magnificent monument, at the interment whereof

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 53.

<sup>n</sup> Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 53. videsis Epiph. lib. de Pond. et Mensur. c. 20.

<sup>o</sup> Ambr. de obit. Valent. s. 23. vol. ii. p. 1180.

<sup>p</sup> Ambr. Ep. liii. vol. ii. p. 1002.



St. Ambrose preached his funeral sermon ;<sup>a</sup> wherein he elegantly bewails the untimely loss of the young prince, whose hopeful beginnings and excellent virtues he describes, and largely proves that the want of baptism, which he had so earnestly desired and longed for, should not prejudice his eternal happiness in another world, the merciful God in such cases accepting the will for the deed. Toward the conclusion, he introduces his brother Gratian, welcoming him into the regions of the blessed ; between whom he runs a parallel, and applies to them that of David, concerning Saul and Jonathan, “they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death (meaning as to the manner of it) they were not divided.”

## SECTION VI.

### HIS ACTS FROM THE DEATH OF VALENTINIAN TILL HIS OWN DEATH.

Eugenius's usurpation of the empire. His mean quality, and unsettled principles. His great favours shewed to the Gentiles. His approach to Milan. St. Ambrose's flight thence, and letter to him. Routed and put to death by Theodosius. Ambrose's intercession in behalf of the conquered. The death of the good emperor Theodosius at Milan. His character. Vindicated from the calumnies of Zosimus. Ambrose's stout defence of the privileges of the church. Immediate punishment upon the violators of it. Ambrose sent to by the queen of the Marcomans for instructions in the Christians' faith. His sickness. An account of his last hours. His death and burial. His character. The exemplary piety of his private life. His behaviour in his episcopal station. His indefatigable industry, zeal, courage, impartiality ; his clemency to penitents, solicitousness for the church, managery of public affairs ; his charity and hospitality. Dining on Saturdays contrary to the custom of other places. His learning, and quick progress in the study of theology. His phrase and style. His works, consisting of tracts, sermons, epistles, and commentaries. His making so much use of the Greek fathers no blemish to him. St. Jerome's pique against him. His fame and reputation in foreign countries. A journey made by some from Persia on purpose to converse with him. An account of his writings.

VALENTINIAN being thus taken off, Eugenius usurped the empire :<sup>r</sup> a fellow of ignoble birth, and a mean profession, being no better than a rhetorician and a schoolmaster, but withal a man of parts and subtlety ; and who, by Richomer's recommendation, had insinuated himself so far into the favour of Arbogastes, that he took him into his most intimate counsels, and finding himself in a strait, what to do upon the murder of Valentinian, he ad-

<sup>a</sup> De obit. Valent. s. 3, etc. vol. ii. p. 1174.

<sup>r</sup> Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 54.

vanced him to the empire. A man he was of no settled principles in religion; Philostorgius says he was a downright pagan;<sup>8</sup> and they who speak most favourably, say he did but hypocritically profess Christianity: <sup>†</sup> so that the Gentiles began to conceive hopes of sheltering themselves under his favour and patronage,<sup>u</sup> and so plied him with their flattering auguries and divinations, that he inclined to them; and as an earnest of his kindness, granted (what they could never hitherto obtain) that the altar of Victory should be restored,<sup>x</sup> and the charges of the solemnities defrayed out of the public exchequer. By this time he was advanced into Italy, and marched directly for Milan; but before his arrival, St. Ambrose was gone to Bononia, whither he was invited to attend the translation of St. Agricola the martyr: thence he went to Faventia, where, having stayed a few days, he was invited to Florence; whence he wrote a letter to Eugenius,<sup>y</sup> excusing his not staying till his arrival at Milan, and freely expostulating with him for the favour he had shewed the Gentiles, giving him an account how unsuccessfully it had been attempted under all the preceding emperors, who had flatly rejected the motion, and that himself had been the great instrument to oppose and overturn it. While he stayed at Florence, he dedicated a church there, burying some of the martyrs' bones under the altar, which he had brought with him from Bononia. There he remained till Eugenius left Milan, who departed to encounter Theodosius, who was said to be coming with an army towards him. Strangely puffed up they were with confidence of success, insomuch that Arbogastes, and Flavianus the Gentile, and prefect of Rome, threatened at their going out of Milan, that at their return they would turn the church there into a stable, and make the clergy serve in the wars. But the wise God defeated their impious purposes. For Theodosius, coming upon them sooner than they expected, after a bloody fight routed their whole army;<sup>z</sup> and a party was despatched to apprehend Eugenius, who sat on the top of a hill expecting the issue of the battle. Espying the soldiers come panting up the hill, and supposing them messengers of victory, he asked them, whether, as he had given order, they had brought Theodosius bound? They replied no, they had not brought Theodosius to

<sup>8</sup> Lib. ii. c. 2.<sup>†</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 22.<sup>u</sup> Rufin. l. ii. c. 33.<sup>x</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 6.<sup>y</sup> Ambr. Ep. lvii.<sup>z</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 24.

him, but were come to bring him to Theodosius. So they plucked him from the seat where he sat, bound him, and carried him to the emperor, who having aggravated his tyrannical usurpation, commanded him to be put to death. Nor did a better lot attend his dear friend and patron Arbogastes,<sup>a</sup> who flying from the battle, spurred on with the fear of a conquering enemy, but more haunted with the conscience of his own villainies, and not being able to flatter himself with any hopes either of pardon or escape, two days after anticipated the public justice, and made his own sword the instrument of his execution.

II. St. Ambrose, (than whom none was ever more ready to promote offices of mercy,) being advertised by the emperor of the victory,<sup>b</sup> despatched letters to court, to intercede for those that had been engaged in the late rebellion, such more especially as had fled for sanctuary into the church. And to make all sure, himself went to Aquileia for that purpose, where his mediation could not fail of a desired success, the good emperor falling down upon his knees before him, and freely owning, it was by his prayers and intercession with heaven he had got the victory. Ambrose came back to Milan, whom the emperor followed the next day, whither his sons Arcadius and Honorius (or one of them at least) soon after came to him from Constantinople, whom he received publicly in the church, recommending them to St. Ambrose's care and prayers. He stayed at Milan, and the following year fell sick in the midst of the public joys and triumphs. In his sickness he frequently sent for, and conversed with Ambrose, to whom he expressed a greater concernment for the good of the church than for the affairs of the empire: for the ease of his people, he released the taxes that were unpaid; for the security of his enemies, he passed an act of pardon and indemnity; and for the common settlement, divided the empire between his two sons, committing them to the care of count Stilicho, whom he made their guardian. He died January the 17th, anno 395, to the inestimable loss of the whole Roman empire, and especially of the catholic church, to which he was ever a true nursing father. His corpse was afterwards carried to Constantinople; but the solemnities of his funeral were kept at Milan, on the fortieth day after his death, where St.

<sup>a</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 25. Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 58.

<sup>b</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 7.



Ambrose made a large funeral oration,<sup>c</sup> a just panegyric in his commendation. Indeed he was an excellent prince, devout and pious, mild and gentle, humble and affable, compassionate and merciful; he was wise, just, and valiant, and (as a blessing from heaven upon all his other virtues) in all his undertakings prosperous and successful. I know Zosimus, a pagan historian, (who never speaks well of any Christian emperor,) charges him with luxury and delicacy,<sup>d</sup> effeminacy and love of pleasures, and that in the prosecution of them he exhausted the revenues of the empire. But Aurelius Victor<sup>e</sup> (nor is he the only Gentile writer that does so<sup>f</sup>) gives him a better and a nobler character, and compares him, both in the features of his body, the disposition of his mind, and the course of his actions, with Trajan, one of the best princes in the whole Gentile succession of the Roman emperors. He says of him, he was of a mild and merciful disposition, and one who reckoned himself to differ from others only in the imperial garb; kind and courteous to all, but especially good men; one that loved men of the meanest, and admired them that were of great parts and learning, so long as they kept within the rules of decency and virtue; his bounty was unlimited; he treated citizens with great respect, with whom he had only a private acquaintance, and heaped upon them gifts, honours, and offices, especially where by any difficult services they had approved their fidelity towards him. Nay, he was free from those vices which did somewhat blemish Trajan's person and government; drunkenness and ambition he perfectly hated; he found wars rather than began any; and by a law forbade minstrels and other servants of lewdness and wantonness to attend at feasts and entertainments; so great a patron of modesty and chasteness, that he prohibited the marriages of cousin-germans. Learned he was to a good degree; sagacious and prudent, desirous to know the actions of great men in all ages, whose ambitious, cruel, and injurious attempts he exposed with great resentment; apt to be angry, but withal, like a true generous nature, soon appeased; he was, what seldom happens, bettered by his advancement to the empire, and it never more appeared than after

<sup>c</sup> Ext. vol. ii. p. 1197.

<sup>d</sup> Zosim. Hist. l. iv. c. 28. et 50.

<sup>e</sup> Epitom. c. 75, 76, 77.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Themist. Orat. v. (de human. Imp. Theod.) p. 135, etc. Symmach. l. ii. Epist. 13. et in Epist. passim.

a victory over his enemies, whom he treated with all imaginable kindness; and would, out of his own exchequer, many times repair those damages and losses which his subjects had sustained by the cruelty and rapaciousness of usurpers. In his private life, he was infinitely kind to all his kindred and relations; neat, but not costly in his entertainments; pleasant in his discourses according to persons and things, but never transgressing the laws of gravity; moderate in his recreations, and temperate in his diet. How vastly different this character is from that of Zosimus, every one sees; and my author, that makes it, was much more capable of knowing the truth of things, living under this very emperor.

III. Honorius, to whose share the Western empire fell, to gratify the people in the entrance upon his government, entertained them at Milan with sports,<sup>g</sup> and fighting with wild beasts; which being a time of licence, some soldiers, prompted by Eusebius the governor, and with the leave of count Stilicho, went to the church to fetch one Cresconius, a malefactor, who had fled thither for shelter? The bishop and clergy that were present endeavoured to defend the privileges of the church, and to guard the man. But the party, commanded by Arian officers, were too strong for them, broke in upon them, and took away the man by force, carrying him in a kind of triumph to the amphitheatre. Ambrose in the meantime threw himself before the altar, and with tears bewailed the violence that had been offered to the church of God. And mark the issue. No sooner had they brought Cresconius to the amphitheatre, and that the leopards were let loose upon him, but immediately they ran to the place where the persons who had violated the church sat, leaped upon them, and very grievously rent and tore them. At the sight whereof Stilicho was touched with a quick remorse for what had been done, and by a long penance satisfied the bishop, withal restoring the man back whom they had forcibly taken; who being yet guilty of great enormities, was banished, and soon after pardoned. A servant also of count Stilicho's,<sup>h</sup> a demoniac, who had been lately cured, and remained still in the Ambrosian church, being charged with forging letters, his master refused to punish him: but the bishop commanding him to be brought before him, examined him, and found him guilty; and thereupon told him, it was necessary he should "be delivered over to Satan

<sup>g</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 9.

for the destruction of the flesh," that hereafter he might not presume to do so any more. Immediately, while the words were yet in his mouth, an evil spirit seized upon him, and began to tear and torment him; which struck no little terror and amazement into all that beheld it. The fame of these and other his great actions flew all abroad, and among others came to the ears of Fritigil, queen of the Marcomanni, who sent presents, with a letter, desiring from him instructions in the Christian faith. He sent her back an epistle drawn up in form of a catechism, advising her to persuade her husband to preserve peace and friendship with the Roman empire. She did so, and they both resolved to put themselves under the protection of the emperor, and upon that errand she came to Milan, but it was too late to speak with the holy man.

IV. For being now worn out with cares and labours, he began to sink. A few days before he fell sick he foretold his death,<sup>i</sup> but said he should live till Easter. Before he took his bed, he continued his usual studies, and expounded the forty-third psalm, which he dictated to Paulinus, who was his amanuensis, and who looking up, on a sudden saw a globe of fire in form of a shield covering his head, and by degrees creeping in at his mouth, after which his face became white as snow, though soon after it returned to its usual complexion. Paulinus was sore frightened with the vision, his pen fell out of his hand, and he could write no further till he had recovered himself. It was the last time the good bishop either wrote or dictated any thing, nor did he finish his exposition upon that psalm, which accordingly is extant imperfect at this day. Count Stilicho was infinitely troubled at the news of his sickness, and said openly, "the day that that great man dies, destruction hangs over Italy:" and therefore sending for as many of the nobility and magistrates of the city as he knew had an interest in the bishop's kindness, he partly threatened, partly persuaded them to go to him, and by all means prevail with him to beg his life of God. They went, and with tears besought him to intercede with heaven for his own life, representing the inconceivable loss the church of God would receive by the death of so excellent a prelate; to whom he gave no other answer than this,<sup>k</sup> "I have not so behaved myself among them, that I should be ashamed to live; nor am I afraid

<sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 8. 9, 10.

<sup>k</sup> Paulin. *ibid.* Possid. in vit. August. c. 27.



to die, because I have so good a Master." The day whereon he died, (which was April the 4th, anno 397,) he lay for several hours with his hands expanded in form of a cross, his lips moving all the while, though it could not be understood what he said. Honoratus, bishop of Vercellæ, was there at that time, and being gone into an upper chamber to take a little rest, heard a voice crying three times to him, "arise, and make haste, for he is going to depart." He came down, and gave him the holy eucharist, which he had no sooner taken but he expired. His body was early the next morning carried to the great cathedral, and there remained on Easter-eve. On the Lord's day, after the public solemnities, it was removed to the Ambrosian church, and there interred, his funeral being attended by persons of all ranks and qualities, of all ages and conditions, not only Christians, but Jews and Gentiles; many striving to touch his body with napkins or handkerchiefs, believing they should be able with them to fence off the assaults of evil spirits. He was succeeded by Simplician, who had sometime been his tutor, and whom he seemed to design for his successor before he died. For when he lay sick, Castus, Polemius, Venerius, and Felix, four of his deacons, watched with him; and being at the other end of the room, at a great distance from him, were talking together who should succeed him, but whispered so low that they could scarce hear one another, and when the name of Simplician was mentioned, he cried out (as if he had been among them) three times together, "He is ancient, but he is a good man." At the hearing whereof they were amazed, and ran away.

V. Behold in this good bishop an admirable exemplar of true piety and virtue. In his more private life he was a public example. His devotions were constant and fervent;<sup>1</sup> the day, for the most part, and sometimes the night, he spent in reading, prayer, and fasting. His appetites were subdued by a constant course of mortification, and conducted by very strict measures of abstinence and sobriety; never dining but upon Saturdays and Lord's-days, and the festivals of martyrs. He had a mind exquisitely tender and compassionate; he "rejoiced with them that did rejoice, and did weep with them that wept." His charity was as large as the necessities of human nature; he loved, relieved, assisted all, but "especially them of the household of

<sup>1</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 8.

faith." His estate real and personal he entirely bestowed upon the poor, and for the maintenance of the church, styling the poor "his stewards and treasurers,"<sup>m</sup> in whose hands he deposited his revenues. It was his care and practice to do good against evil: of all the affronts and injuries that he met with, he revenged none, nor requited them otherwise than by offices of kindness. Temptations to riches or honour weighed nothing with him, whose mind dwelt above the world, and who had given so pregnant an instance of his contempt of them, in a free renouncing so considerable a share of both. Though he was a person of great birth and fortunes, and had justly acquired a mighty veneration from persons of all conditions and interests, yet never any took lower and more humble measures of himself. He readily professes upon all occasions his unfitness for his office;<sup>n</sup> that he was unworthy to be a bishop, and less than the least of all of that place and order; and that it was "by the grace of God that he was what he was." Thus he moved in his private orb. In his episcopal station he was a common light to all the bishops of that age. His province he governed with singular fidelity and care. He administered the holy eucharist every day, preached commonly every Lord's day,<sup>o</sup> besides the frequent returns of particular and extraordinary occasions; and spent no small part of his time in instructing and preparing the catechumens for baptism,<sup>p</sup> wherein he took more pains alone, than any five of his successors could discharge. He was the most undaunted champion for the catholic faith which the Western church had in those times, and the most strenuous assertor of ecclesiastic discipline; the rites whereof he maintained against all opposition, without respect of persons, or fear of any dangers that might attend it. Offenders he reprov'd with a mighty freedom and impartiality, not sparing the highest, nor declining the most fierce and violent. He had indeed a natural greatness and gallantry of mind, that made him speak freely and boldly upon all occasions;<sup>q</sup> nor was he by any considerations of fear or favour to be moved one hair's breadth, where the cause of God and religion lay at stake. And yet none more indulgent to those that were truly penitent, and willing to observe the rules and customs

<sup>m</sup> Orat. in Auxent. s. 33. vol. ii. p. 872.<sup>n</sup> De Pœnit. l. ii. c. 7. De Offic. l. i. c. 1.<sup>o</sup> August. Confess. l. vi. c. 3. vol. i. p. 120.<sup>p</sup> Paulin. vit. Ambr. p. 8.<sup>q</sup> Vid. Phot. Cod. CCXXXI.

of the church, insomuch that he was blamed for it. When any came to him to confess their offences,<sup>r</sup> he wept for them and with them, and by his own set their tears afloat. Their faults he was infinitely careful to conceal, never discovering them to any but God, with whom he interceded for their pardon. He had a very tender sense of the sufferings of the church, whose necessities he was always most forward to supply. When told of the death of any bishop, he was wont to weep most bitterly; and when his servants endeavoured to comfort him, he told them, he did not grieve that such a one was dead, but that the good man had got the start of him, and that it would be so hard to find a worthy person to succeed him. It was no inconsiderable portion of his time and pains that was swallowed up in hearing and determining civil causes, and the differences that arose among neighbours; wherewith he was so crowded, that St. Augustine,<sup>s</sup> at his first coming to Milan, found it a hard matter to get an opportunity of discoursing with him. His gates were always open, and no man forbidden to have access to him, nor was there any need of an usher to introduce them. Though none more abstemious in his own person, yet did he keep hospitality; wherewith he entertained not the poor only, but persons of the greatest rank and quality, who took it for an honour to have been his guests; insomuch that count Arbogastes gloried in it that he had been familiarly entertained at his table;<sup>t</sup> and Vincentius, prefect of Gaul, proposed it as a pattern to St. Martin,<sup>u</sup> that Ambrose scrupled not to feast consuls and governors at his house. And within those bounds he kept himself, never admitting public treatments abroad; there being three things he always resolved against,<sup>w</sup> never to make a match for any one's marriage, never to persuade a man to be a soldier, and never to go, though invited, to a feast. Saturday, we observed before, was one of his dining days, whereat Monica,<sup>x</sup> St. Augustine's mother, at her coming to Milan, was greatly offended, having observed that day to be kept as a solemn fast at Rome, and in other places, and wondered why it should be there a festival: a plain evidence that the Roman church did not in those days give laws to the rites and customs of other places, no, not to

<sup>r</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 6.

<sup>w</sup> Possid. in vit. Aug. c. 27.

<sup>s</sup> Confess. l. vi. c. 3. vol. i. p. 120.

<sup>u</sup> Sulp. Sever. dial. i. c. 17.

<sup>x</sup> August. Ep. liv. s. 3. vol. ii. p. 124.



those that were next door to it. The see of Rome had not as yet trampled upon the necks of foreign churches, which preserved their liberties and usages entire and independent, without doing obeisance to the supremacy of St. Peter's chair. Accordingly St. Ambrose, in his resolution of the case, wisely advised Augustine and his mother to follow his example: when they were at Rome, to fast on Saturday as they did at Rome, and when at Milan, to feast, as they did there; and to whatsoever church they came, to observe the custom of that place, that so they might neither give nor take offence.

VI. His learning was rather polite than deep. Some insight he had got into the Platonic philosophy in his younger years, being not inconsiderably acquainted, both with the language and learning of Greece. When he was made bishop, he was little versed in theologic speculations, in the pursuit whereof he advanced with so quick a pace, that he seemed to be inspired from above; became a preacher to others, while he was but a scholar himself; *docere vos capere, quod ipse non didici*, as himself confesses;<sup>y</sup> he taught and learnt at the same time, informing himself while he instructed others. Though he traded much in the writings of some of the Greek fathers, and those too the most bold and venturous, yet he carefully avoided all unorthodox and suspected *dogmata*; he let pass the weeds and gathered only the flowers, separating the precious from the vile, and handling divine matters with a most religious tenderness of mind, and with a sincere respect to the known and established doctrine of the church. His style is various, according to the different subjects that he manages; but in general it is concise and smart, much like that of Seneca, but somewhat more soft and mild. His discourses are made up of round sentences, argute sayings, quick transitions; and he usually concludes his argument with some smart close at the end of it. The truth is, his style is rather pretty than elegant; the shortness and briskness of his periods is pleasant, and leaves a piquancy and quick relish in the reader's mind, and something still to be understood, either not at all expressed, or but obscurely intimated. His works (most whereof he wrote all with his own hand,<sup>z</sup> unless where sickness interposed and took him off) are either tracts, (books purposely written on some particular subjects,) or sermons, or

<sup>y</sup> De Offic. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 8.

epistles, or commentaries. Among his tracts, there are some which are charged to be little better than translations out of Greek. Thus St. Jerome long since observed of his books *de Spiritu Sancto*, that he borrowed most of them out of a book of Didymus upon that argument, and in his transferring of them made them worse; that he frequently transcribes the Greek fathers, and especially Origen. It must be granted, that he makes no little use of the Greek fathers' writings; nor is it any wonder, that he who came late to the study of theology, should make some more than ordinary use of the helps that had been before him; and that he who was peculiarly skilled in the Greek tongue, should convey the treasures of the East into the Western world, without always mentioning the particular port from whence he brought them. No man (as Erasmus well observes in this case) blames Cicero for being so conversant in the books of Plato, and deriving thence a good part of his philosophy into his own writings; it is Plato's notions in Tully's dress. And yet this is no dishonest plagiarism, but a warrantable imitation. It must likewise be remembered, that Jerome seems to have had a particular pique at St. Ambrose, of whom he seldom speaks very favourably. Jerome was a man of passions, one that had no mean opinion of himself, and who seldom gives an over-advantageous character, where he thinks himself overtopped: though elsewhere he makes honourable mention of him, saying, that when he was made bishop of Milan, all Italy was soon reduced back to the catholic faith. His sermons, homilies, or orations are generally short, and delivered in a popular way; no great number whereof, considering the frequency of his preaching, have been transmitted to us. Of his epistles there are still extant eight books, monuments of great prudence and piety; containing either historical occurrences of those times, or explications of some particular texts of scripture, that by letter had been propounded to him. Lastly, his commentaries upon the scripture run much upon the allegorical strain, and in these it is that he is chiefly obliged to Origen. His commentaries upon Luke were the early fruit of his episcopal studies: he wrote also upon St. Paul's epistles; but those extant at this day are falsely entitled to his name.

VII. We have seen the man, and the monuments he left behind him. And what wonder now, if a man thus accomplished,

a person so venerable for his learning and piety, were renowned through the world. Indeed the common suffrage of all antiquity has assigned him the first place among the four great doctors of the Latin church. Nay, even in his lifetime, he was not only honoured by the more civil and polite part of the world, but his name was revered even among barbarous nations: whereof an instance or two shall suffice. When count Arbogastes had subdued the Franks,<sup>a</sup> (his own countrymen,) and upon the conclusion of a peace was entertained by the princes of that country, he was asked, among other things, whether he was acquainted with Ambrose. He told them he was, that he had a particular interest in the man, and had been frequently treated at his table. No wonder then (replied the princes) you carry all before you, when you are favoured and befriended by a man who says to the sun, "stand," and it stands still. Nor had the Western world only this good opinion of him, his fame spread into the remoter regions of the East. Besides his correspondence with St. Basil, two of the wisest and most honourable men in Persia,<sup>b</sup> having heard the report of him, undertook a journey on purpose to Milan, as the queen of Sheba once did to Solomon, to see him, and put hard questions to him. They came, and by an interpreter disputed with him from morning till night, till they admired and were fully satisfied in his incomparable wisdom. And that it might appear that they came this chargeable, difficult, and tedious journey upon no other errand, the very next morning they took their leave of the emperor; and just passing by Rome, only to salute the illustrious Anicius Probus, prefect of Italy, they returned directly into their own country.

<sup>a</sup> Paulin. in vit. Ambr. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. p. 5.

#### His Works.

##### *Genuine.*

Hexæmeron, sen de Oper. sex dierum, libri sex.  
De dignitate humanæ conditionis, libellus.  
De Paradiso, liber.  
De Cain et Abel, libri duo.  
De Noe et Arca, liber.  
De Abraham Patriarcha, libri duo.  
De Isaac et Anima, liber.  
De bono mortis, liber.  
De Jacob et beata vita, libri duo.  
De Esau sive de fuga sæculi, liber.

De Joseph Patriarcha, liber.  
De benedictionibus Patriarcharum, liber.  
De Arbore interdicta,  
In Exod. cap. viii. xvi. xxiv. xxx. xxxii. annotationes.  
In Levit. cap. x. xii. xxvi.  
In Numer. cap. xxiii. et xxxiii. de Mansionibus.  
In Deuteron. cap. xxii.  
Apologia pro David, prior.  
Apologia pro David, posterior.  
De Elia et jejuniis.



De Nabathe Jezraelita.  
 In cap. vi. lib. 4. Regum, sermones duo.  
 De Tobia, seu adv. fœneratores.  
 De Job.  
 Sermo in cap. vii. Job.  
 In Psalmos David, argumentum.  
 Enarrationes in Psalmos i. xxi. xxxv. xxxvi.  
 xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xl. xli. xlii. xliii. xlv.  
 xlvii. xlviii. l. lxi. lxvii.  
 Tractatus in Psalm. civ.  
 Sermo in Psalm. cix. alter in Psal. cxvii. in  
 Psalm. cxviii. enarrationes 22.  
 Se Salomone, liber.  
 In cap. xxx. Proverb. fragmentum.  
 In cap. xxxi. Prov. seu, de muliere forti.  
 In cap. iv. Ecclesiastis, ad Clericos exhort.  
 In cap. iii. Ecclesiastic.  
 In cap. i. et lii. Esaïæ, sermones duo.  
 In Hieremiæ cap. xvi. enarratio.  
 In Daniel. xiii. sermones duo.  
 In cap. iii. et iv. Jonæ enarrationes duo.  
 In Michæam observationes duo.  
 In cap. i. et ii. Aggæi observatio.  
 In Malachiæ cap. i. sermo.  
 Commentar. in S. Lucam. libri decem.  
 De Officiis, libri tres.  
 Tractatus in Symbolum Apostolorum.  
 De fide ad Gratianum Imp. libri quinque.  
 Ad eundem de Spiritu Sancto.  
 De incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento.  
 De mysterio Paschæ.  
 De Paschalis celebritatis ratione.  
 De fide Resurrectionis.  
 De initiandis, liber.  
 De Sacramentis, libri sex.  
 De Sacerdotali dignitate.  
 De Pœnitentia, libri duo.  
 De Virginibus, libri tres.  
 De Virginis institutione.

De hortatione ad Virginitatem.  
 Epistolarum, libri octo.

*Doubtful.*

De Virginis forma vivendi.  
 De Virginis lapsu.  
 Hymni aliquot.  
 De viduis, liber.

*Supposititious.*

Sermones de Tempore, et de Sanctis.  
 Conciones breves.  
 Sermo de purificatione B. Virginis.  
 Precationes ad missam duæ.  
 De Vocatione omnium gentium, libri duo.  
 De Filii divinitate et Consubstantialitate adv.  
 Arianos.  
 In Epistolas D. Pauli commentaria.  
 In Apocalypsim B. Joannis comment.  
 De vitiorum virtutumque conflictu.  
 Expositio fidei secundum symbolum Ni-  
 cænum.  
 De Spiritu Sancto, libelli fragmentum.  
 De Concordia Matthæi et Lucæ in Genea-  
 logia Christi.  
 De Pœnitentia, liber.  
 De origine et moribus Brachmanorum.  
 Expositio in Cantica Canticorum.  
 Epistola ad Demetriadem.

*Not Extant.*

In Esaïam Commentarii.  
 Comment. adv. nonnullos Platonicos.  
 Elucidationes et homiliæ in Sapientiam.  
 Expositio in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas.  
 Sermo de judicio Salomonis.  
 Catechismus epistolaris ad Fritigildem.  
 De puerilis ætatis institutione ad Panso-  
 phiam.

# THE LIFE OF SAINT EPIPHANIUS,

## BISHOP OF SALAMIS IN CYPRUS.

His birth-place. The condition and religion of his parents. Reports of some of the former parts of his life uncertain. His travels into, and abode in Egypt. The danger of his being seduced into the sect of the Gnostics. Temptations adapted to that purpose. The lewdness and horrible villanies of that sect. His discovering that accursed fraternity to the bishop of the place. His converse with, and imitation of the devout ascetics in Egypt. His return into Palestine, and living under the discipline of Hilarion, the founder of monachism in those parts. His presiding over a monastery of his own erecting. Promoted to the bishopric of Salamis in Cyprus, when, and by whom. The manner of it related by an uncertain author. Salamis famous, upon what accounts. The great fame and reputation of Epiphanius. The occasion of writing his *Ancyrate*. This book, why so called, and what the subject of it. His work against heresies, when written, and upon what occasion. Why styled *Panarium*. The *Anacephalæosis*, or epitome of it. His journey to Rome, to a synod there about the controverted see of Antioch. His joyful entertainment at that place. His contests with John bishop of Jerusalem, and the first occasion of them. John suspected by Epiphanius of retaining his old kindness for the Origenian opinions. The many affronts he put upon Epiphanius upon that account. The quarrel enlarged by Epiphanius's ordaining a presbyter to officiate in his own monastery. John's loud complaints of him upon this and many other accounts. Epiphanius's calm and mild reply. This matter cleared by a further account of it from St. Jerome. Epiphanius charged with violence and injury. The story of his rending the curtain that had a picture on it in the church of Anablatha. The vain shifts of the Romish writers to evade this testimony against image-worship. This not the only evidence of Epiphanius's sense in that point. Attempts to make peace between John and Epiphanius in vain. John's letter to Theophilus of Alexandria, who interposes by his legate, but without effect. John's apology to Theophilus, and faint vindication of himself. Epiphanius's letters to Rome and other places. A more particular account of the controversy sent by St. Jerome to Pammachius. A fresh controversy of the Anthropomorphites started among the monks of mount Nitria in Egypt. The original of it. Theophilus, how engaged in it. His quarrel with the four brethren called Longi, whence. Their interposal in the behalf of Isidore, and ill treatment by Theophilus. His design to beget an ill opinion of them among the monks. His synodical condemnation of them as guilty of Origenism. His subtle actings in that matter. His cruel and violent proceedings against the four Longi. They and some others forced to fly, first into Palestine, then to Constantinople. The truth of this story undeservedly questioned. Epiphanius engaged

by Theophilus in this quarrel. A synod summoned in Cyprus, which condemns the reading Origen's books. Epiphanius's letter to Chrysostom to do the like. His journey to Constantinople in pursuance of this design, and refusal of Chrysostom's kind invitations of sojourning with him. His drawing in bishops to subscribe his decrees. Opposed by Theotimus, bishop of Scythia. The great advantage given to Chrysostom's enemies by his proceedings. Severely rebuked by a message from Chrysostom. His ill entertainment at court from the empress Eudoxia, whence. The four Longi sent to wait upon him, and their discourse with him. The odd parting between him and Chrysostom. His going aboard in order to his return. His last discourse and admonitions to those about him. His death, and burial. His great age. His mighty zeal against heresy. His admirable piety and strictness of life. His singular charity and beneficent temper. The veneration which his very enemies had for him. His learning and skill in languages. The weakness of his judgment, and his over-great credulity noted. The flatness of his style. The general parts and divisions of his book against heresies. What advantages he had in compiling that work. His writings.

ST. EPIPHANIUS was born in Palestine, at Besanduce,<sup>a</sup> an obscure village, not far distant from Eleutheropolis, a city frequently mentioned by Eusebius<sup>b</sup> and St. Jerome,<sup>c</sup> and from them may probably be conjectured to have been situate near the Western border of the tribe of Judah: by some supposed to have been the same with Hebron, but herein greatly mistaken, mine authors no less plainly than commonly distinguishing those cities. But much farther are they wide of truth who place it in Phœnicia, and entitle that country to the honour of his nativity. His parents (if we may believe one who pretends to have been his scholar,<sup>d</sup> and the companion of his life) were Jews, persons of a mean fortune; his father an husbandman, his mother traded in the making of linen cloth: two children they had, Epiphanius, and a daughter called Callitropes. My author adds, that at ten years of age he lost his father, when their family was reduced to great extremity; that not long after he was adopted by Tryphon, a rich Jewish lawyer, who gave him all the advantages of education according to the Jewish mode, designing to marry him to his only daughter; but she dying soon after, and her father following, Epiphanius remained sole heir of that great estate; who taking his sister home to him, (his mother being by this time dead,) they lived together in great plenty, and with mutual satisfaction: that going one day to the place of his na-

<sup>a</sup> Sozom. l. vi. c. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. *περὶ τοπικ. ὀνομάτων*.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. de loc. Hebr.

<sup>d</sup> Vit. Epiph. per Joan. discip. et Polyb. ext. Gr. Lat. ap. Epiph. vol. ii. p. 318. et Lat. ap. Sur. Maii. 12.



tivity, where part of the estate which Tryphon had left him lay, he met by the way one Lucian, a devout charitable monk, and being surprised with an act of unusual charity which he saw him do to a poor man, he fell into his acquaintance, and was by him converted to Christianity, instructed in the Christian doctrine, and at length baptized; when having sold his estate, and settled it upon the poor, at sixteen years of age he betook himself to a monastic life: all which he relates at large, with infinite other particulars of his life. But I dare not treat my reader at his cost, being an author of something more than suspected credit, and therefore plainly discarded by Baronius himself,<sup>e</sup> who is not always over-shy of doubtful and supposititious writings; though a late learned writer more than once quotes him without any scruple,<sup>f</sup> and lays some stress upon his authority. However, I cannot but remark with what confidence Possevin the Jesuit imposes upon his readers,<sup>g</sup> when having cashiered this author as absurd and fabulous, and pretending instead thereof to present a short, but true abstract of Epiphanius's life, after all derives his materials out of this very author, whom just before he had so much decried. Omitting therefore these spurious, at least uncertain accounts of things, we shall content ourselves to pick up such passages of his life as are secured to us by better and more unquestionable authority.

II. It is probable enough that he was born of Jewish parents; the place of his nativity, and his skill in the language and customs of the Jews, above the ordinary rate of learned men in those times, giving suffrage to the conjecture. His education (whatever the condition of his parents was) seems to have been ingenuous and liberal, polished by study both at home and in foreign parts. In his youth he travelled into Egypt, where we may suppose him ordinarily residing at Alexandria, the Athens of those parts of the world, flocked to and frequented by men of learning from all quarters. He was but young at his arrival there; and his want of experience, and perhaps the rawness of his years and the unfixedness of his principles, made him liable to become a prey to the "sleight of men, and the cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Insomuch, that he was in danger of being drawn over to the very worst of sects,

<sup>e</sup> Ad Ann. 372. p. 347.

<sup>f</sup> Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 4. §. 2. n. 1. 14.

<sup>g</sup> App. Sac. in Epiph.

that of the Gnostics,<sup>b</sup> the common sewer of all ancient heresies, into which the filth of all their lowdest principles and practices did vent itself. The temptation was adapted to his age: the women of that sect (who at the time of their initiation were wont to put off all shame and modesty) endeavouring, by the most subtle insinuations, and by all the arts of wantonness, to bring him over to their party. By their means he had the opportunity (which his curiosity made him willing to take hold of) of reading the senseless books of their religion, and of being acquainted with all the secret rites and abominable mysteries of that sect, which they freely disclosed to him. This could not but startle him, and awaken in him all the powers of reason and natural conscience; and indeed he was sufficiently apprehensive of his danger, and therefore earnestly implored the divine assistance, and (as he thankfully owns the mercy) God, who stood by Joseph, and delivered him from the importunities of his wanton mistress, kept his foot from being taken in the snare of the fowler. The women were vexed that he had thus escaped their hands, and therefore turned their solicitations into scorn and derision: "let him go, (said they to one another,) we could not save the young man, but we have left him to perish in the hands of our prince:" meaning one of those sovereign powers (three hundred and sixty-five they had in all) which presided over the acts of their lewd and beastly mysteries, and (probably) they particularly intended Sacla,<sup>i</sup> the prince of whoredom, whom they placed in their second heaven. And indeed they looked upon it as a reproach to them to prove unsuccessful in their attempts. For it was their custom, for the more handsome women to prostitute themselves for the gaining proselytes, (which they called "saving" of them,) and having done so, were wont profanely to insult and triumph over those of their number whom nature had less befriended, in such language as this, "I am a chosen vessel, able to save those whom I have seduced, which you for your part could not do." Into so deep a degeneracy is human nature capable of falling, as not only to be vile to the utmost degree of wickedness, but when they have been so, to glory in their shame, and, after all, gild it over with the pretence and colour of religion.

III. Epiphanius, having thus broke loose from the snare of

<sup>b</sup> Epiph. *Hæres.* xxvi. adv. Gnost. c. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid.* c. 10.

the Devil, thought himself obliged, in gratitude to God and for the good of the world, to discover this damnable and accursed crew. There were no less than fourscore of them in the place where he then lived, who sheltered themselves under the common profession of Christians, whose names he presented to the bishops and governors of the church, and by that means routed them and their pernicious sect quite out of the city. After this, he betook himself to an accurate observation and imitation of the lives of those pious and devout ascetics,<sup>k</sup> for which Egypt was then so famous through the Christian world, to whose strict and philosophic manners he conformed himself. And in this course he continued some years, till the twentieth year of his age, at what time he returned back into his own country, and put himself under the discipline of Hilarion, the father and founder of monachism in those parts. This Hilarion was born at Tabatha,<sup>l</sup> a village within five miles of Gaza, in the south of Palestine, and had been sometime pupil to St. Antony, the great Egyptian hermit; by whose institution and example he set up the monastic life in his own country, planting himself in the deserts towards the sea, seven miles from Maiuma, the port belonging to Gaza. In the reign of Julian, he was forced to quit his own country, and fled into Egypt; thence he set sail for Sicily, where he lived some time, and maintained himself by cutting wood in the mountains, which he carried on his back, and sold in the neighbouring city; thence he went into Dalmatia; and returning in the latter part of his life, fixed his abode in Cyprus, where he died. Epiphanius, out of gratitude to his master, wrote his Life in a short encomiastic letter, as St. Jerome did afterwards more at large, wherein he gives a full account of his piety and his miracles. Under him, monachism began to thrive apace, and the solitudes of Judea were soon replenished with devout inhabitants, among whom two were more remarkable, Hesychius and Epiphanius: Hesychius resided in the same place with Hilarion, and was his most intimate companion; Epiphanius settled himself near the place of his nativity, where he erected a monastery, over which he presided with great care and piety many years, nor indeed did he ever wholly lay aside the superintendency and administration of it.

<sup>k</sup> Sozom. l. vi. c. 32. Vid. argument. lib. Ancorat. præfix.

<sup>l</sup> Hieron. vit. Hilarion. Eremit. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 75. Sozom. l. v. c. 10.



IV. It was now about the reign of Valens, (for till then, Sozomen expressly says,<sup>m</sup> he remained at his charge in Palestine,) when he was promoted to the see of Salamis in Cyprus. How, or upon what occasion, he came to be chosen to that place, is uncertain: unless we take the account that is given us by the forementioned writer of his Life,<sup>n</sup> who tells us, that having heard that Hilarion had taken up his residence in Cyprus, he went thither to salute him and receive his blessing. Hilarion kindly entertained him, and after two days' stay, advised him to go to Salamis, where he should find a settled habitation. It happened that the see of Salamis was then vacant, and the bishops of the island met together about a new election, by whom the particular determination of the person was referred to Pappus, an aged confessor, and who had been fifty years bishop of Cytria; who going out into the forum, laid hold upon Epiphanius, and that (as he affirmed) by divine revelation, and taking him along with him into the church, ordained him, first deacon, then presbyter, and last of all bishop of that place. If this account be true, (as there is nothing in it but what is probable enough,) then his ordination to that see must happen some time between anno 366, (when Hilarion first arrived in Cyprus, where he continued but seven years in all,<sup>o</sup> two at Paphus, and five in his retirement among the mountains,) and anno 372, which was the last year of Hilarion's life; nay, the author I mentioned plainly intimates, it was while Hilarion abode at Paphus, that is, anno 366. And this agrees exactly with the relation of Palladius,<sup>p</sup> who seems to make his six and thirty years government of that church concurrent with the popedom of Damasus and Siricius, the former of whom entered upon the see of Rome anno 366. Salamis, called afterwards Constantia, was an ancient city, situate upon one of the eastern promontories of the island, built by Teucer, son of Telamon king of Salamis, (thence it had its name,) one of the Ægean islands. It was famous of old for a temple dedicated to Jupiter, as Paphus was for one to Venus, renowned for being the birth-place of Aesclepiades the poet, and Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver. That which first raised it to a reputation in the Christian world, was the preaching and martyrdom of St. Barnabas, a Cypriot by birth, who preached

<sup>m</sup> Lib. vi. c. 32.

<sup>n</sup> Vit. Epiph. ap. Sur. Num. 32, 33, etc.

<sup>o</sup> Vid Hieron. in vit. Hilarion. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 89. <sup>p</sup> Dial. de vit. Chrysost. c. 16.

the Christian faith, and sealed it with his blood in this place : upon which account, it became the seat of the primate, or metropolitan of the island, and what honours were in aftertimes conferred upon it, we have noted elsewhere. But, alas, the ruins of its ancient greatness are scarce visible in a poor contemptible village at this day, about two miles distant from Famagusta, the now capital city of the country. Epiphanius being thus advantageously planted,<sup>1</sup> the fame of the man soon spread itself throughout the world. For Salamis being a port-town, and by that means a place of great commerce and traffic, he quickly grew into the notice and veneration of strangers from all parts ; as, on the other side, his diligence in his office, and the piety and charity of his conversation, and the skill and fidelity wherewith he managed even civil and secular affairs, rendered him no less dear and acceptable to his own people at home.

V. Indeed, so great was his reputation and renown abroad, that addresses were made to him from all parts, as the common arbiter of controverted questions in religion, and one that was best able to explain the sense of the catholic faith. Anno 373, or the beginning of the following year, came letters to him from Matidius and Tarsinus,<sup>r</sup> in the name of themselves and the other presbyters at Suedra, a city in Pamphylia, entreating him to send them an accurate account of the catholic doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity, and especially the divinity of the Holy Ghost. For, it seems, the Macedonian heresy (which, Sozomen tells us,<sup>s</sup> diffused itself through Bithynia, Hellespont, and the neighbouring provinces) had rambled hither, and infected many in this country ; so that neglecting the stale controversies about the Son of God, (as men are naturally fond of novel errors,) they greedily caught up the new-started blasphemies against the Holy Spirit, whose deity and divine dominion they denied, and whom they degraded into the class and ministry of a servant and messenger. And though by the letters which Athanasius and some others had heretofore written to them about this matter, several had been reclaimed from these pernicious sentiments, yet the tares were not wholly rooted up, the minds of many continuing still leavened with this impiety. They besought him, therefore, to give them a full account, what was the orthodox belief in this case, they having none near at hand able

<sup>1</sup> Sozom. l. vi. c. 32.

<sup>r</sup> Ext. ap. Epiph. Ancorat. præfix. vol. ii. p. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. iv. c. 27.

accurately to discuss those subtle and perplexed questions that had been set on foot amongst them. This request was accompanied likewise with a letter from Palladius,<sup>†</sup> governor of that city, upon the same errand, and to the very same effect. In answer to both, he wrote *Ἀντεπιστολὴ*, (as it is called,) a large responsive, wherein he particularly opens the doctrine of the catholic church in the articles relating to the several persons in the Trinity, which he explains and confirms from Scripture, and vindicates from the most specious cavils and pretences which the heretics usually made against it, together with an account of the resurrection, and the consequent articles that depend upon it. This tract he styled the *Ancorate*,<sup>‡</sup> because, anchor-like, it served to fix and confirm instable minds in the knowledge of the truth, and to keep them from being “tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.” In this book he had, among other things, accidentally inserted a catalogue of the names and numbers of several heresies, which had infested the church in all ages: the notice whereof being got abroad, awakened the curiosity of many, and particularly of Acacius and Paulus, two archimandrites, or prefects of monasteries in the parts about Chalcedon and Berœa in Cœlosyria, who wrote to him the next year by Marcellus,<sup>§</sup> who, being newly instructed in the faith, was desirous to be more fully principled and confirmed by Epiphanius; by him they excuse their not waiting personally upon him, which they intended, had not weakness and infirmity constrained them to keep at home, assuring him, they looked upon him as a second St. John, one whom God had extraordinarily raised up to be a new apostle and preacher to the church. But the main business of the letter was to beg of him to give them an account of the opinions and practices of the several heresies that had disturbed the church; a task which could not but be infinitely acceptable to them and all good men. Hereupon he composed his larger work *Against Heresies*, wherein, besides the historical part, he makes a particular confutation of every heresy, amounting in all to the number of eighty, which he draws down through the several ages of the world to his own time, that is, till the eleventh year of Valens

<sup>†</sup> Ext. ap. Epiph. *Ancorat.* præfix. vol. ii. p. 2.

<sup>‡</sup> Vid. Epiph. *Hæres.* lxi. c. 27. et *Argum. lib. Ancor.* vol. ii. p. 1.

<sup>§</sup> Ext. *Epist. ad init.* vol. i.



and Valentinian,<sup>x</sup> anno 374. From this date, Baronius conceives he began this work a year before he received the letter from the monks of Syria,<sup>y</sup> the inscription whereof makes it not written till the following year. But, either there is an error in the date of that inscription, (which being none of Epiphanius's own, might easily happen,) or else by that date of the eleventh of Valens, Epiphanius intended, not that he then began, but only brought down his account to that time. It being otherwise certain, both from the preface and the beginning of the work itself, that he set upon it at the request of those Syrian archimandrites. And whereas in their letter they tell him, they had heard he had drawn out and ascertained the names of the several heresies; that plainly refers to the passage in his Anacorate,<sup>z</sup> where (as we observed before) he sets down their names and numbers, and that in the very same method wherein he treats of them afterwards. To this work he gave the title of Panarium, the Store-house; designing it, he tells us,<sup>a</sup> to be a *κιβώτιον ἱατρικὸν*, a "physic-chest," or apothecary's shop, replenished with antidotes adapted to those several poisons and venomous wounds which error had made upon the minds of men. But the largeness of the work, and the subtlety of the controversies debated in it, rendered it less useful to unlearned and undiscerning readers, for whose sakes he afterwards contracted it into an Anacephalæosis, or epitome, that it might become more familiar and accommodate to ordinary use. Nor was it enough that he was thus employed at home, the necessities of the church called for his assistance abroad. Anno 382, Gratian and Theodosius summoned a council to meet at Rome, to compose the controversy that had raised so much dust in the East, about the see of Antioch, possessed by Paulinus, and challenged by Flavian, whose cause was espoused and asserted by a synod at this time sitting at Constantinople. Besides the Western bishops, there arrived at Rome some out of the East,<sup>b</sup> especially Paulinus of Antioch, and our Epiphanius. He lodged in the house of the lady Paula, relict of Toxotius, a gentleman of Rome, who entertained him with all possible kindness, happy that she had got

<sup>x</sup> Vid. adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 2.<sup>y</sup> Ad Ann. 375.<sup>z</sup> Cap. 13.<sup>a</sup> Epist. ad Acac. et Paul. c. 1. in init. vol. i. et Anaceph. vol. ii. p. 126.<sup>b</sup> Hieron Ep. lxxxvi. ad Eustochium, vol. iv. par. ii. p. 671, 672.

such a guest under her roof. The Acts of this synod are lost, but by the event it appears that the cause was adjudged for Paulinus. And now having done his errand, and seen Rome, and conversed with all the great persons there, the next spring he returned back to Cyprus.

VI. He had now for many years peaceably governed the Cyprian churches; when by means of John, (who, anno 386, succeeded Cyril in the see of Jerusalem,) he was unhappily involved in troubles and controversies that devoured the latter part of his life. For the understanding of which we are to know, that he still retained a relation to the monastery, called "Old Ad," which he had heretofore erected and constituted near Eleutheropolis in Palestine; for the better administration whereof he was forced sometimes to repair thither, and by that means maintain a nearer and more frequent intercourse with the bishop of Jerusalem. John was a man proud and passionate, and besides of wavering and inconstant principles: he had herded with the Arian and Macedonian party during the late persecutions in the reign of Valens,<sup>c</sup> and though he had deserted them upon his promotion to that see, yet he still retained some kindness for the old opinions; especially was a secret friend to the doctrines of Origen, whereto Epiphanius was a professed antagonist. This begat mutual jealousies, which at last burst out into an open flame. It happened that Epiphanius preaching in the cathedral at Jerusalem,<sup>d</sup> directed his discourse against the Origenian *dogmata*. The bishop thought himself touched with the sermon, and, together with his clergy, sometimes by signs of anger, sometimes by expressions of scorn and derision, shewed that he sat uneasy, and pitied the doting old man; till not able to hold longer, he sent up his arch-deacon to him, commanding him to cease preaching about those matters. And when after sermon, as they were going from the place of the Resurrection to that of the Cross, people of all sorts flocked after Epiphanius in such crowds, and with such expressions of reverence and devotion, that there was no passing forwards; the other's envy began to boil, and he could not forbear telling him to his face, that he purposely contrived and caused these stops. And when at another time the congregation was borne in hand

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Hieron. Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 308, 309.

<sup>d</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 311.

that they should again hear Epiphanius, John himself stepped into the pulpit, and thundered out nothing but sharp invectives against the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, who affirm, that God has human parts and shape; turning himself all the while towards Epiphanius, to insinuate a suspicion into the people's minds, that he was guilty of that impious and absurd opinion. Sermon being ended, the good old bishop stood up, and told the congregation, that what his brother had spoken against the Anthropomorphite heresy was very well, and that he himself heartily condemned it; but that withal it was but just, that as they condemned this heresy, they should condemn likewise the perverse doctrines of Origen: a motion which the congregation entertained with laughter and acclamations, to the equal shame and vexation of their bishop.

VII. Hitherto they had stood on some tolerable terms, when John laid hold on an opportunity of openly venting his spleen, and that upon this occasion. Epiphanius's monastery was destitute of a priest,<sup>e</sup> who might constantly officiate the divine services amongst them; a task which St. Jerome and Vincentius, both presbyters, who lived near at hand in the monastery at Bethlehem, out of modesty refused to undertake. Complaint hereof being made to Epiphanius by the brethren of the monastery, a fit man was sought for, and Paulinianus, St. Jerome's younger brother, was the person pitched on for this purpose: but he, out of humility, did not only decline it, but refused to come near any bishop, lest he should lay hands upon him. At length, going along with others to wait upon Epiphanius, then in those parts, about some business of the monastery, the bishop commanded the deacons that were present to apprehend him, and so overpowered him with the weight of his authority and persuasion, that he unwillingly submitted to be ordained deacon; which Epiphanius presently performed in the parish-church next to the monastery, as after some convenient time, though with the same difficulty, he advanced him to the order of presbyter, designing him as domestic chaplain to that monastery. The report hereof was soon carried to John of Jerusalem, who was not a little glad of the opportunity. He now filled every corner with loud declamations against Epiphanius, that he had violated the canons of the church, by taking upon him to ordain out of his

<sup>e</sup> Epiph. Epist. ad Joan. ap. Hieron. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 822.



own diocese; that the person ordained was little better than a boy,<sup>f</sup> and if any of his clergy owned his ordination, they should lose their place in the church; that Epiphanius had traduced him for an heretic,<sup>g</sup> and in his public devotions had prayed for him in these words, "Grant, Lord, to John, that he may believe aright;" that therefore he was resolved to make him know himself, and to acquaint all parts of the Christian world with his unwarrantable uncanonical proceedings; and that if men would not do him right, he summoned him to a trial before the divine tribunal. To all this bluster Epiphanius returned him a gentle letter, wherein he mildly reproves him for his passionate and unchristian carriage in this matter, and lays before him the true state of what had passed; assuring him, he might rather have expected thanks for what he had done, than that it should be made the foundation of a quarrel; that he had done nothing herein, but what in like cases had been customary in his country, where catholic bishops ordained presbyters within his province; yea, that he had desired some, (particularly Philo and Theoprobis,) that because his diocese was wide and large, therefore in those churches of it that lay next to theirs, they would ordain presbyters, as occasion required, and provide for the necessities of the church; that he, of all others, had least reason to complain, the ordination being done, not in his, but in the diocese of Eleutheropolis; and that if any found themselves aggrieved, it must be, as St. Jerome observes, the bishop of Cæsarea, who was metropolitan of the whole province. For the age of the person ordained, St. Jerome adds, that he was not much under thirty, and that John himself was not much above when he was made bishop, and had ordained others at that very age whereat Paulinianus was made presbyter. But the truth was, as Epiphanius tells him,<sup>h</sup> it was not so much the business of Paulinianus that had moved his choler, the root of the matter lay deeper, it was that he had rubbed him sometimes with his affection to Origen and his opinions; whom he had charged as the parent of Arianism, and other dangerous errors; it was the touching this tender string had offended his ears, and put him into such an angry ferment: for the charge of traducing him in

<sup>f</sup> Hier. Epist. xxxviii. ad Pammach. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 334. Epist. xxxix. ad Theoph. ibid. p. 337.

<sup>g</sup> Epiph. Epist. ad Joan. ibid. p. 823.

<sup>h</sup> Loc. supr. citat.

his devotions, it was a great mistake ; he might be confident he was not guilty of so much rudeness, but bore a greater reverence towards him and his office, than so to vilify him before the people ; that he had done but what was usual in the conclusion of the public prayers, to pray for him, as he did for all other bishops, that God would keep him, and grant him to preach the word of truth : that therefore he passionately besought him especially to renounce all communion with Origen's, or any other heretical opinions ; to which end he lays before him eight several principles asserted by Origen, which he desires him as a specimen to consider, and to come off roundly in those points, and to desert all those that pertinaciously adhered to them.

VIII. But John has not yet done with his charge : he further accuses him of injury and violence,<sup>i</sup> and that he had in a manner robbed one of the churches in his diocese. The truth of which case was thus. Epiphanius in his way to Bethel came to a village called Anablatha, where espying a church, he turned in to offer up his prayers. Entering into the church, he beheld a curtain hanging over the door, whereon was painted the image of Christ, or some saint. Detesting such innovations in the church, expressly contrary to the authority of the holy scriptures, (as himself tells us,) he tore the curtain, and advised the churchwardens to make use of it rather as a shroud to bury the dead. They told him, that since he had torn that, it was but reasonable he should give them another that was not obnoxious. This he immediately promised, and after some time sent the best he could get, desiring the bishop to convey it to the presbyters of that place ; and that he would henceforward take care, that such painted curtains, being against our religion, should not be hung up in the church of Christ ; it being much more his duty to be watchful, and solicitous to remove an occasion of scruple that was unworthy of the church of Christ, and the people committed to his charge : a passage so clearly expressive of the doctrine and practice of the church in the point of images in that age, that the champions of the church of Rome are at infinite loss about it. Some of them say, that the good bishop treated the picture with that resentment, because he supposed it to have been the image of some infamous person, usurping the place of a saint ; others, that this epistle is spurious, and falsely

<sup>i</sup> Epiph. Epist. *ibid.* in fin.

fathered upon Epiphanius; others, that this latter part of it only is supposititious, added by a later hand; and this way go Baronius, Bellarmine, and the most, without any authority, or just pretence of reason. And therefore Baronius, after all the pains he had taken to make it seem an imposture, dares not yet be very confident of his own conjecture. Wherefore others, discerning these shifts and artifices to be weak and desperate, allow the story, but withal decry Epiphanius as a downright Iconoclast, an enemy to image worship, and therefore to be little regarded in this case. And if they put it upon that issue, we are content. Nor indeed is this the only testimony Epiphanius has given in this matter: the fathers of the second Nicene council,<sup>k</sup> the great patrons of image-worship, have recorded another to our hand. "Take heed (says Epiphanius) to yourselves, and hold fast the traditions which you have received, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left; and keep this continually in mind, never to introduce images into churches, nor into the church-yards of the saints; but have God always in your minds and memories:" after which it is added, that the same father published other discourses in confutation of images, which they that are curious and inquisitive might easily meet with. And though it is true, the good fathers of the synod question the validity of that testimony, yet upon what weak and frivolous pretences they do it, any man may at first sight discern, that will but be at the pains to look into the wise proceedings of that council. But I return.

IX. The spirit of the man was too far exulcerated to be healed with any lenitives, or calm replies which Epiphanius could return: his choler still boiled against him, and the monks of Palestine that sided with him, especially St. Jerome, who took part with Epiphanius, and so galled the other with his tart reflections, that he suspended him the execution of his ministry and communion with his church,<sup>l</sup> and endeavoured to drive him out of the country,<sup>m</sup> though his attempt that way took no effect. Good men were much troubled at these unhappy dissensions, and heartily wished a composure. Among the rest, count Archelaus interposed,<sup>n</sup> and prevailed with the

<sup>k</sup> Synod. Nicæn. ii. Act. vi.

<sup>l</sup> Hier. Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 331.

<sup>m</sup> Id. Ep. xxxix. ad Theoph. ibid. p. 337.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Pammach. ibid.



parties concerned to meet in order to it. Time and place were appointed, and a great number of monks and others repaired thither to see what would be the issue of this conference; when, after all, John the bishop did not appear, but sent a trifling excuse, that a certain matron, whom he could not leave, was sick, which hindered his coming at that time. The count sent him word, that they would stay a day or two longer, if he would then come. But all in vain, the woman was still sick, and the same excuse must serve the turn. By this it was evident to all impartial observers, that he distrusted his cause, and durst not abide a trial; so that refusing to give Epiphanius any answer, either by word or letter, the good old bishop wrote to the monks, not to communicate with him till he had given satisfaction in those points of heresy whereof he stood impeached. But so far was he from that, that he set himself to make a wider breach; and what he had formerly threatened, that the world should ring of Epiphanius's actings, he now put in execution, writing letters into all parts; and among the rest, probably, to Theophilus of Alexandria, who either at his invitation, or of his own accord, sent Isidore his presbyter with letters into Palestine,<sup>o</sup> if possible to umpire and compose the difference. But Isidore was underhand too good a friend to Origenism, to do any thing that might prejudice the cause of the bishop of Jerusalem; to whom and his party he wrote beforehand, that they should stand their ground, and not be frightened with any terrors or threatenings; that he would come directly to Jerusalem, and, at his arrival, make the attempts of their adversaries fly before him, as smoke is dispersed in the air, or as wax melts at the presence of the fire. And when he did come, he took no care to pursue the ends of his legation. Thrice indeed he gave meeting to the other party, and entertained them with the commands of his master, and a parcel of smooth words tending to peace, but concealed the letters which Theophilus had sent to them. And when St. Jerome once and again demanded them, he refused to deliver them, confessing he had been engaged to do so by the bishop of Jerusalem. And so his legation came to nothing. At his departure, John gave him an apology,<sup>p</sup> (penned by Isidore's own counsel and contrivance,) to be delivered to Theophilus; wherein, after he had complimented him with some

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 330.<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

flattering insinuations, that as a man of God, adorned with apostolic grace, he did even in the midst of all his affairs at home sustain the care of all the churches, and especially the church of Jerusalem, (though, as St. Jerome notes, this had been a fitter address to the bishop of Cæsarea,) he proceeded to make an odious representation of his adversaries; and because he had been charged with Origenian errors,<sup>q</sup> eight whereof Epiphanius had objected to him, he thought himself obliged to offer somewhat in his own vindication; but passing by all the greater points, he touched only upon three of the less material; and that too in so loose and careless a manner, as if there were no doubts concerning them, or that they did not deserve a more close and accurate discussion. However, his letter having as good a friend as Isidore for its interpreter, we may be sure would be made to speak fair for him at Alexandria.

X. Three years Epiphanius had waited for satisfaction,<sup>r</sup> and had patiently borne the injuries which John had thrown upon him, hoping that at last he would clear his reputation, and do right to truth. But he found the man incurable, and that the only use he made of his silence, was to fill the world with clamours against him. He resolved therefore to be no longer wanting to himself, but despatched away letters to all the most considerable churches,<sup>s</sup> to the bishops of Palestine, to Alexandria, and especially to pope Siricius at Rome, where John's complaints had made the loudest noise. But because the controversy was not clearly understood there, Pammachius, a learned gentleman of Rome, who upon the death of his wife Paulina had taken the monastic rule upon him, wrote to St. Jerome, desiring from him a full account of this matter; which he accordingly gave him in a very large, learned, and eloquent epistle, wherein he truly represents matter of fact, vindicates Epiphanius and himself, and describes John in his proper colours. This letter was written anno 393; shortly after which he sent another, much to the same effect, to Theophilus of Alexandria, to undeceive him in those things wherein John and Isidore might have misinformed him; the aspersions which had been thrown upon himself he wipes off with an elegant defence, and assures him, that notwithstanding all the spiteful attempts which John had made against him and his party, yet they were heartily

<sup>q</sup> Ad Pammach. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 320.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 322.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. in fin.

disposed to peace, if he would but give the world satisfaction in the business of his faith. The Epiphanian cause being thus brought into open light, John saw it was in vain to bear up against the stream, and so fairly let it fall, never after, that I find, appearing in it. By which means the good old man gained a present respite. But it lasted not long. For the Origenian controversy being soon after revived, though upon another occasion, involved him in fresh troubles, that ended not but with his life: an account whereof, as being necessary to clear the remainder of this, and some parts of the following Life, we shall a little more particularly relate.

XI. The broaching of the Arian tenets, about the beginning of this *sæculum*, had a little awakened the long buried cause of Origen; but it came not to any considerable height till about the close of it, when a question was started among the monks in Egypt,<sup>t</sup> especially those of mount Nitria, (where were the most frequent and celebrated convents,) whether God was a purely incorporeal Being, or had the parts and figure of a man? Upon this the monasteries were divided, many defending the orthodox notions, while others of the simpler sort, understanding those places of scripture (which ascribe eyes, face, hands, &c. to God) in a strict literal sense, fiercely espoused the latter part of the question; and because Origen's writings were chiefly made use of to beat down their opinion, they wholly rejected them, and quarrelled with all that did approve and own them. Theophilus was at this time bishop of Alexandria, a man subtle and politic, and one that knew how at any time to put a good colour upon a bad cause, and to sail with every wind by which he might reach the point he aimed at. He had in his paschal letters sufficiently declared himself for the incorporeal opinion, and in his sermons smartly inveighed against those of the opposite party. This quickly came to the monks at Nitria, who, alarmed with it, flocked in a great body to Alexandria, intending to make him redeem his impiety (as they called it) with the price of his head. He was aware of their coming, and going forth to meet them, entertained them with a pleasant look, addressing to them, in the words of Jacob to his brother Esau, "I have seen you, as though I had seen the face of God." With this crafty and ambiguous answer the deep-pated monks were well pleased

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 7. Sozom. l. viii. c. 11.



and satisfied, supposing he meant, that God had a face like to theirs; but added withal, if you mean really what you say, condemn the books of Origen, by which many are seduced into the contrary opinion, and enabled to fight against us; and unless you do this, we are resolved to treat you as an impious person, and an enemy to God. The bishop replied, "Be not angry, sirs, I am ready to do what you have a mind to; I, for my part, detest the books of Origen, and condemn all those that admit them." And with that assurance they departed, confident that they had got the day.

XII. And here the controversy might have slept and died, had not Theophilus thought good to awaken it, to minister to his private malice and revenge. Four brothers there were, from the tallness of their stature called *Longi*, who presided over the Egyptian monasteries, Dioscurus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, all of them renowned for their learning and pious lives, in great favour with Theophilus, who received them with all imaginable kindness and respect. Dioscurus, though unwilling, he consecrated bishop of Hermopolis, and two others of them he in a manner forced to live with him at Alexandria, and made them stewards of the revenues of his church. But they, weary of the cares of a secular life, as too great an intrenchment upon their pious and philosophic genius, and much more weary of Theophilus's griping and covetous practices, who put them upon ill courses to advance his projects, resolved to return back to their beloved solitudes. The bishop did what he could to dissuade them from it, but when he perceived their resolution unalterable, and much more the reason that made them desert him, he began to storm, and threaten he would be even with them, which they little regarding, went back to the monasteries. At the same time he fell out with Isidore,<sup>u</sup> who had not long since also been his favourite; partly because he refused to be witness to a will, pretending that Theophilus's sister was left heiress to a certain estate; partly because being treasurer for the poor, he had denied Theophilus a sum of money towards his magnificent buildings, telling him, it was much better to clothe the backs and refresh the bowels of the poor, which are the true temples of God, than to lay it out upon roofs and walls. Theophilus, vexed to be thus defeated and reproached, set him

<sup>u</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 12.

self to ruin him: Palladius adds,\* that in a solemn consistory he arraigned him of no less than sodomy, upon a forged writing, and when baffled in that, suborned a young man to swear the charge; whose mother discovered the plot, and produced the money that had been given her son. However, putting the best face he could upon it, he excommunicated and ejected Isidore, who not knowing how far it might be safe for him to stay longer there, fled to mount Nitria, where he had been brought up in his younger years, whom Theophilus followed with letters to the bishops of those parts, commanding them to cast him and his partisans out of those solitary recesses: the monks hearing what was done, and pitying the hard case of Isidore, resolved that a committee of their number, and Ammonius in the head of them, should go to Alexandria to treat with the bishop about this matter. Theophilus at first promised to restore Isidore to communion, and being oft urged with this promise, to discourage any more such addresses, threw one of the monks into prison: nay, we are told, that he threw the tippet that he had about him over Ammonius's neck with his own hands, and beating him about the face till he was all bloody; with a stern angry voice, "Heretic, (said he,) anathematize Origen;" though not the least occasion for any such discourse was offered at that time. But Ammonius and his company voluntarily went to their fellow in prison, and refused to come out thence, till Theophilus himself came and should fetch them out. Afterwards they yielded to go to him, who having asked their pardon for what had been done, quietly dismissed and sent them home.

XIII. But how smooth soever he might appear without, his passion boiled up within. He had not forgot his former quarrel to Dioscurus and his brethren, and though in his late rude treatment of Ammonius he had given him a taste of his kindness, yet he resolved now to pay them home all together; which yet he could not effect, but by creating a difference between them and the other monks; who held them in a mighty esteem and veneration. And no way could he think of so proper for this, as again to set on foot among them the late buried controversy. He knew Ammonius and his brethren were stiff assertors of the incorporeal opinion, which the maintainers of were wont to make good, among other ways, by the reasons and authority of Origen.

\* Dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 6.

This he spread abroad by letters in the monasteries, advising them to beware of Dioscurus and his brethren, who, following the doctrine of Origen, sought to introduce an impious opinion, that God was incorporeal, and had not, according to the testimony of scripture, either eyes, ears, hands, or feet. The design quickly took, and the far greater part of the monks being simple and illiterate, were for the gross and absurd part of the question. But what they wanted in learning, they made up in zeal, bandying the case, not with accurate disputings, but with noise and clamour. The dissensions ran high, and grew irreconcilable, and names of reproach were fixed upon each party; the assertors of corporeity scornfully styling the others Origenists, as they, on the contrary, branded them with the title of Anthropomorphites. And that he might yet cast a further mist before men's eyes, he convened a synod at Alexandria,<sup>y</sup> where, in frequent sessions, the cause of Origen was ventilated, and many dangerous propositions gathered out of his writings were produced, which his friends not daring to defend, cried out, that the places had been corrupted, and the things fraudulently inserted by heretics; a thing not to be wondered at, when they had not scrupled to offer violence to the gospel itself: that therefore the body of his works was not to be thrown away because of some adulterated passages, which a wise reader would easily distinguish, and might reject what was corrupt, but retain what was catholic truth. But this plea was overruled, it being replied, that there were books enough which the church received; that the reading those books was not to be allowed, which would do more mischief to the simple and unwary than they could do good to the wise and learned, and therefore good and bad were to be rejected, and the tares and wheat to be thrown out together. The issue was, that no man should read or keep by him the books of Origen. And though this was nothing to the case of Dioscurus and his brethren, whom Theophilus knew to be far enough from patronizing any of Origen's obnoxious opinions, they only using his authority to refel a pernicious and senseless impiety, yet it served his turn to raise a dust, and to clap a bad name upon them, and then expose them to the censure and hatred of the people, who perhaps would never inquire how they came to have that name put upon them.

<sup>y</sup> Posthum. ap. Sulp. Sev. dial. i. c. 3.



XIV. And this, it is like, the synod had been told, had the monks been there: but it seems they were never summoned,<sup>z</sup> Theophilus wisely foreseeing, that had they been called, his actions must have been rifled into, and his fraud and ill arts would have been brought to light. And therefore he never proceeded against the body of the monks, but only against Ammonius and his brothers, against whom he procured a synodal sentence. Nay, if we may credit what Palladius further relates, he procured five persons, men of no authority or account amongst the monks, and therefore more likely to be pliable to his designs, one of whom he consecrated bishop, (though but of a little village, there being no city to set him over,) a second presbyter, the three others deacons. To these confidants of his he delivered libels of accusation against the brethren, which himself had framed, and which they subscribed, and afterwards delivered to him in the face of the church. He, as if he had known nothing of the matter, took the libels at their hands, which he immediately presented to the augustal prefect, or viceroy of Egypt, entreating his warrant and assistance, that those infamous persons might be expelled the country. His request was soon granted: and being now armed with the civil power, and attended by a company that would do his work, whom to that end he had well warmed with wine, away he goes at night for mount Nitria;<sup>a</sup> and first he seizeth upon Dioscurus, whom he deposed, and committed to his Ethiopian slaves, taking into his own possession his episcopal see, though of as great antiquity as any in those parts; it having been the place where Joseph and the blessed Virgin rested with our infant Saviour,<sup>b</sup> when they fled into Egypt. Next he goes to the monasteries, the plunder whereof he permitted to the soldiers; but not finding the persons he sought for, he first set fire to their cells, and burnt their books, and among them their Bibles, and the very portions of the Eucharist, and, as those who were eye-witnesses affirmed, a little youth into the bargain, and then returned back in triumph. The truth is, the three brothers, upon the first news of his approach, had hid themselves in a well, the mouth whereof being covered over with a mat, proved a safe shelter to them. The danger being over, and they well knowing those parts would

<sup>z</sup> Pallad. Dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. etiam Socrat. l. vi. c. 7. Sulp. Sev. dial. i. c. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Sozom. l. v. c. 21.

afford them no protection, left the country, and with Dioscurus (who had made his escape) fled into Palestine, first to Jerusalem, and then to Scythopolis, (anciently called Bethsan, situate in the half tribe of Manasses on this side Jordan,) where, as being best furnished with palm-trees, the leaves whereof the monks made great use of in their ordinary mechanical operations, they seated themselves. Hither repaired to them great numbers of their old company, about eighty, say some; one hundred and twenty-six, nay, three hundred, say others. But Theophilus's malice stopped not here: he wrote to the bishops in Palestine, in a strain lordly enough, that they ought not without his advice to have received these fugitives, but in that their ignorance might excuse them, and he would pass it by; but that for the time to come they should not in any way of converse, either civil or sacred, entertain them. However, here they continued, till hearing that Theophilus designed messengers to Constantinople, to complain against them at court, they conceived it best to be beforehand; so Dioscurus and several others repaired thither, where Chrysostom, then archbishop of the imperial see, received them with all due kindness and respect. By the whole carriage of this affair, and what follows in relation to Chrysostom, it evidently appears, that Theophilus indulged passion and prejudice beyond what became a good man. I know an attempt has lately been made to vindicate and relieve his memory, and to that end the whole story of his transactions with these Egyptian monks has been called in question, and represented as a piece of forgery, contrived by the Origenian monks to impose upon the world. But this is a liberty which I confess I dare not take. The story is not only related by Socrates and Sozomen, men of credit enough in other matters, and who had no particular interest to serve in this, who lived, if not in, very near that time, and were acquainted with some of the persons concerned in it, but it is very minutely related by Palladius, (or whoever was the author of that Dialogue,) who with Chrysostom was concerned in some part of the story, and was very familiarly acquainted both with the persons themselves, and the whole management of the business. I do not deny but those that favoured the Origenian way might set out Theophilus in his worst light, and might put a keener edge upon some of his actions, than perhaps they deserved: but to say that the whole

story is feigned, because Sozomen says his friend, whom he could trust, had one particular passage in it from the monks themselves, (for what Sozomen says of that,<sup>c</sup> refers only to the causes of Theophilus's displeasure against Isidore,) is too hard, and would open too wide a gap. For suppose he had had the whole relation from them: is no man to be believed in his own cause? Or can any man be so fit to tell the particular circumstances of his case, as he that suffers them? And, indeed, if the credit of a story so particularly related, so well attested, must be destroyed merely for a few surmises, which a witty man may start in any matters of fact, I scarce know what parts of church-story can be secure.

XV. Thus far we have deduced the general story, we shall now bring it home particularly to Epiphanius. Theophilus having synodically condemned Origenism, wrote an encyclical epistle to the churches abroad, to give them an account of what he had done: and because Epiphanius, by reason of his age and his singular piety and learning, was a person of greatest authority at that time, he was desirous to gain him to his party.<sup>d</sup> Not that heretofore he had quarrelled with him for being an Anthropomorphite, and, to gain his friendship, did now dissemble himself to be of that opinion, (as Socrates and Sozomen represent it;) for though John of Jerusalem did once insinuate such a suspicion, (and Rufinus it seems took it up,<sup>e</sup> and gave countenance to it,) yet Epiphanius did immediately disown and protest against it; but he knew well it would be of mighty advantage to his cause, to have so near a neighbour and so considerable a person on his side. To him, therefore, besides the general epistle, he wrote more particularly,<sup>f</sup> to let him know, that with the sword of the gospel he had cut in pieces those Origenian serpents that had crept out of their holes, and had cleared mount Nitria of that pestilent contagion; that now it was his part, who had been an old soldier in these conflicts, to support and relieve those that were fighting, and in order thereunto to summon together all the bishops of his island, and to send their synodical letters to Constantinople and elsewhere, that both Origen and his heresy might by name be condemned by common consent; that he

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. viii. c. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 10. Sozom. l. viii. c. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Hier. Apol. adv. Rufin. l. iii. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 453.

<sup>f</sup> Ext. ap. Hieron. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 829.



should also give notice hereof to the bishops of Isauria, Pamphylia, and the neighbouring provinces, that they also might do the like. And that the business might meet with no delay, he advised him to send a special messenger, one of his clergy, with the letters to Constantinople, (as he himself had sent the heads of the Nitrian monasteries, with other very considerable persons, on the same errand,) who might be able to give a satisfactory account of what had passed. Epiphanius, like a good-natured man, was easily drawn into the engagement, especially being acted by a great zeal against Origenism. Forthwith he sends Theophilus's epistle, with a letter of his own, to his old friend St. Jerome,<sup>g</sup> telling him, in triumph, that Amalek was now utterly destroyed, and the trophies of the cross erected upon mount Rephidim, and that as Israel overcame by Moses lifting up his hand, so, by the endeavours of Theophilus, a banner had been set up against Origen upon the altar at Alexandria. That done, he convoked all the bishops of Cyprus,<sup>h</sup> and, in a synodical way, condemned and prohibited the reading of Origen's works: an account of all which he sent in a letter to Chrysostom, to Constantinople, desiring, that both he himself would abstain from reading Origen's writings, and that calling a synod of his bishops, he would pass the same decree as they had done in Cyprus. But Chrysostom, seeing further into the business than he did, refused to meddle in it, being nothing moved either with his importunity, or the message he had received from Alexandria.

XVI. Epiphanius finding this affair neglected above, resolved himself, though at that age, to go to Constantinople, and solicit the cause in his own person; no doubt prompted herein and spurred on by Theophilus's instigation. So taking with him a copy of the synodal sentence, he went aboard, and setting sail, he arrived at a place called Hebdomon, seven miles from Constantinople. Here he landed, and entering into a church, which the late emperor Theodosius had erected there, and dedicated to the honour of St. John the Baptist, he celebrated the divine offices; and this being one of the churches that at the empress's charge stood out against the bishop, they complained they wanted one to bear part in the public solemn service, so he ordained a deacon for them. Nor need Baronius wonder at this,

<sup>g</sup> Ext. ap. Hier. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 599.

<sup>h</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 10. Sozom. l. viii. c. 14.

and suppose the historian mistaken in it,<sup>i</sup> it being no more than what Epiphanius had done heretofore in another man's diocese in Palestine; nor is it likely the historian should be mistaken in a thing of that nature, done not full forty years before he wrote; but to put the case past all dispute, we find Chrysostom objecting it to Epiphanius afterwards. This done, he set forwards for the city. Chrysostom, hearing of his approach, went out, attended with the whole body of his clergy, to receive him with all due honour and respect, and kindly invited him to take up his residence with him in the episcopal palace. But he plainly shewed he came with a preconceived prejudice: for refusing the civility of the invitation, he took up his lodgings in a private house; where gathering together what bishops were then in town, he shewed them what decrees had been made against Origen's works, both in Cyprus and at Alexandria, but without exhibiting any material charge against them. Some of the bishops, out of reverence to the man, complied with his persuasions, and subscribed the decrees, but the greatest number refused; and among them Theotimus the Scythian bishop, according to the plain manner of his country, bluntly told him, "for my part, Epiphanius, I shall not take upon me to dishonour a person dead so long since, and who died with so fair a reputation for learning and piety, nor shall I presume to condemn what our ancestors never rejected, especially since I know of no ill doctrine in Origen's works." And with that he plucked out one of Origen's books, which he read before the company, and shewed to contain expositions agreeable to the sense of the church; adding, that this was an absurd and dangerous course, and that they that condemned these expositions were not aware that they condemned the subjects upon which those books were written.

XVII. By all that had been done, Chrysostom was not yet discouraged from treating Epiphanius with that respect that was due to his age and place. He still urged him to come and reside in his house,<sup>j</sup> and that they might not only eat, but pray and serve God together: to which he returned this answer, That he would neither eat nor pray with him, till he had banished Dioscurus and his party out of the city, and had subscribed the decree against Origen's writings; whereto the other replied, That it were a piece of unreasonable rashness and folly to do

<sup>i</sup> Ad Ann. 402.

<sup>j</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 14. Sozom. l. viii. c. 14.

any thing in this matter, before it had come under a public debate and examination. St. Chrysostom's enemies were not to be told what use to make of this difference, for finding Epiphanius forward enough, they pushed him on to all rash and unadvised attempts, and this among the rest. There was to be the next day a great assembly in the church dedicated to the apostles; hither they agreed Epiphanius should go, and standing up, should, before the whole congregation, first condemn Origen's writings, next excommunicate Dioscurus and his company, and, lastly, reflect upon Chrysostom as siding with them: by which means they did not doubt but they should expose him to the censure, if not hatred of the people. This design was discovered to Chrysostom, who the next morning, just as Epiphanius was going into the church, sent him this message by Serapion his deacon: that he had strangely violated the canons of the church; first, in that he had taken upon him to ordain in his diocese; then, that by his own authority, without any leave from him, he had celebrated the divine service in his churches; lastly, that being once and again invited, he had refused to come at him, and still indulged himself in this liberty; that he had best therefore take heed, lest raising a tumult and sedition among the people, the danger should finally return upon his own head. The timorous old man was startled at the message, and immediately retired, and not long after left the city.

XVIII. Nor had he much better success at court. It happened that the young prince,<sup>k</sup> Arcadius's son, lay at this time dangerously sick; the empress Eudoxia was infinitely concerned for him, and sent for Epiphanius, (the fame of whose piety and miracles had filled all places,) to desire him to intercede with heaven for the prince's life. He told her, the child would recover, if she would but turn off and discard Dioscurus and his heretical company. The empress replied, "if God please to take away my son from me, his will be done; 'the Lord gave, and it is he that takes away again:' and for yourself, were you able to raise the dead, your own archdeacon surely had not died;" meaning Crispion, one of his domestic attendants, whom he had made his archdeacon, and who was lately dead. She perceived what it was that stuck with him, and therefore advised Ammonius and his brothers to go and wait upon Epi-

<sup>k</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 15.



phanus. They did so; and when he inquired who they were, Ammonius told him, they were the Longi, that came out of Egypt, and desired to know, whether he had read any books, or conversed with any disciples of theirs? He answered, no. Upon what account then, replied Ammonius, have you judged them to be heretics, whose opinion you are a stranger to, and whom you have never convicted? Epiphanius answered, he had heard so of them. But we, said Ammonius, take a quite contrary course; we have oft met with your scholars, and have read your books, that especially called the Ancorate; and when many have bespattered and called you heretic, we, as became us towards so venerable a father, have stood up for you, and taken your part, and defended your cause against all opposition: wherefore neither ought you by mere hearsay to have condemned the absent, and charge them with things whereof you had no just arguments to convince them, nor thus to requite those who had spoken so well of you. The good man was a little ashamed with the rebuke, and afterwards treated them with more calmness, and then dismissed them. Soon after he prepared for his return, being either weary of the errand he had undertaken, or warned by God of his approaching dissolution.

XIX. The report went, that at parting, Chrysostom and he took leave of each other, with this odd farewell: "I hope," said he to Chrysostom, "that you shall not die a bishop;" whereto the other replied, "I hope you will never come safe into your own country." This, if so, shews that as wise and good men may fall out, and be transported by impotent and unreasonable passions, so God sometimes takes men at their word, whips them with their own rods, and suffers them to reap the fruits of those rash and ill-advised wishes which a calm and composed reason would have prevented; as in this case it came to pass, Chrysostom dying in exile, and the other never coming home alive. As he was going to take ship, he turned to the bishops that waited upon him to the shore, "I leave you (said he) the city, the court, and the scene. I am going, for I hasten away, and that apace." The ship was quickly under sail, and carried him out of sight, a fit monitor of that sudden departure that now attended him, for he died on ship-board during the voyage. Polybius,<sup>1</sup> that pretends to have been his companion in this very

<sup>1</sup> Vit. Epiph. ap. Sur. n. 63, etc.

voyage, gives us a particular account of his last hours; and though I cannot recommend this with the same assurance I have done the rest, yet it containing nothing but what is probable enough, I shall briefly set it down. Being sat down in his apartment, he held, as his custom was, the New Testament in his hand, and with sighs and tears opened the book, and then folded it up, and wept again; then he arose and prayed, and after sat down, and turning to his two attendants, Isaac and Polybius, began, with tears, to discourse to them to this effect: "That if they loved him, they should keep his commandments, and then the love of God should abide in them; they knew through how many afflictions he had passed in his time, which yet he did not think burdensome, but was always cheerful in any thing wherein God was concerned, who had never forsaken him, but delivered him out of all dangers, as all things work together for good to them that love God: that the devil had oft assaulted and set upon him, especially by his agents in all places, the Simonians in Phœnicia, the Gnostics in Egypt, the Valentinians and other heretics in Cyprus; that they should do well to hearken to his last counsels: be not covetous, and you shall have enough; hate no man, and God will love you; speak not against a brother, and the affection of the devil shall not rule in you; detest all heresies, as wild beasts full of deadly poison, whereof I have given you an account in my Panarion; turn away from worldly pleasure, that is always ready to charm both body and soul; you will find it is the way by which Satan makes his approach, nay, and that many times when no external temptation is present, yet the minds of the unwary entertain themselves with impure contemplations; but when the mind is kept chaste and sober, and has God always within view and prospect, we shall be easily able to rout the enemy." Having discoursed to this purpose, he commanded the whole ship's company to be called, and told them, it highly concerned them all earnestly to solicit the divine mercy, that God would preserve and save them, for that there would be a mighty storm, but withal bade them be of good cheer, for that none of them should be cast away. After having given some private directions to Polybius and Isaac, he sent for the seamen, and bade them not be troubled at the storm, but fly to God, and he would help them. At night the storm began to arise, which continued two days and nights:

the next day he prayed, embraced his two disciples, saying, "God preserve you, my sons, for Epiphanius shall see you no more in this world," and with that expired, and immediately the tempest ceased. Being arrived at Salamis, the news of his death filled the whole city and country with an universal lamentation; and flocking to the shore, they took his body out of the ship, and honourably accompanied it to the church, where it was embalmed, put up, and at length interred. He died about the latter end of ann. 402, or rather the beginning of the following year, being of a great age. Polybius says,<sup>m</sup> that the day that he went on ship-board, being asked by the emperor Arcadius, how old he was, he told him, he was one hundred and fifteen years old and three months; which he thus computed, that he was sixty years of age when he was made bishop, and that he had been bishop fifty-five years and three months. But that is uncertain, and in part false. This only we can safely rely on: that anno 392, at what time St. Jerome finished his Catalogue, he was in an extreme old age,<sup>n</sup> and that he sat bishop of Salamis thirty-six years;<sup>o</sup> so that we cannot suppose him to have been much under an hundred years old at the time of his death.

XX. Thus died this good man, who "came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." A man in whose soul there breathed a great zeal for God, and for the interests of catholic truth. He had searched into the principles, and rifled the intrigues of all ancient and modern heresies, and that filled his mind with a brisk generous hatred both of their doctrines and practices, and made him "contend earnestly for the faith that was once delivered to the saints," and vigorously oppose whatever did but intrench upon the confines of it; as was manifest in his hearty attempts against Origenism, the desire of suppressing which, put new life into his old age, and made him willing to comply with any pains or troubles, at a time when his body was sinking under the decays of nature. Nor did he by a clamorous zeal seek to cover any ill designs, his virtue and piety were conspicuous to the world. The greatest part of his time was spent under the exact laws and discipline of the monastic state, a quite different course of life from what monachism is in these latter ages. And when removed to the

<sup>m</sup> Vit. Epiph. ap. Sur. n. 63.

<sup>n</sup> Hier. de script. in Epiph.

<sup>o</sup> Pallad. Dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 7.



episcopal station, he maintained the same strictness, abstinence, and devotion, insomuch that his example and encouragement drew ascetics from all parts;<sup>p</sup> and Cyprus was full of monasteries, which the lady Paula visited with great piety, and liberally relieved when she passed that way into the holy land. But among all his virtues, none more eminent than his charity. He kept, in effect, an open house, and took care of all that needed; and as the place where he lived,<sup>q</sup> besides ordinary poor, presented him with frequent objects ruined by shipwreck and losses at sea, so his doors and his purse were shut to none. He had long since expended his own estate upon charitable uses, and he now as freely dispersed the revenues of his church, which indeed had a considerable stock. For persons from all parts sent in vast sums of money to him as to a common treasurer, and at their death bequeathed great legacies and endowments, being confident that he would dispose of them according to their pious intentions and designs. And so he did, with a very liberal hand, till his stock failing, heaven became his immediate paymaster. His steward one day finding his bank run low, told him of it with some resentment, challenging him with an over-profuse liberality: which notwithstanding, he remitted nothing of his accustomed charity. And when all was gone, a stranger came suddenly into the steward's lodging, and delivered into his hand a large bag of gold; none knowing who he was, or whence he came. This free and beneficent temper made his charity sometimes liable to be abused, the bad effect of a good cause. The story being known of two beggars that agreed to put a trick upon him, the one feigning himself dead, the other standing by, passionately bewailed the loss of his fellow, and begged of Epiphanius, who passed that way, a charity to provide necessaries for his funeral. Epiphanius gave it, and went on; and when the beggar jogged his fellow to rise and make merry with what they had got, the man was dead in good earnest: to lesson men to beware how they mock God, and sport with life and death. Epiphanius in the meantime was loved and admired by all: his very enemies holding him in such veneration,<sup>r</sup> that in the hottest of all the Arian persecutions under Valens, he lived secure and undisturbed at home; the worst of heretics then in power thinking it would

<sup>p</sup> Hieron. Ep. lxxxvi. ad Eustochium, vol. iv. par. ii. p. 672.

<sup>q</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 27.

<sup>r</sup> Hier. Ep. xxxviii. ad Pammach. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 303.

fix an indelible reproach and infamy upon their cause, to persecute so great and good a man.

XXI. His learning was not contemptible in respect either of profane or sacred writers, especially he had traversed the paths of ecclesiastic learning. He had some competent skill in all the most useful languages,<sup>s</sup> especially the Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin; thence styled by St. Jerome *πεντάγλωττος*, though a little of the Eastern tongues went a great way in those days. The truth is, his learning was much more considerable than his judgment; and his reading more diffuse, than his reasonings acute and nervous. Sometimes (as Photius observes<sup>t</sup>) he attempts an adversary with some smartness, but for the most part his discourses are weak and flat. But his greatest fault was his too much credulity, generally taking his accounts of things upon trust; suffering himself to be imposed upon by those narratives which the several parties had published of the proceedings either of their own or their adversaries' side, without due search and examination, which run him upon infinite mistakes, inconsistencies, and confusions, as is notoriously evident (to name no other) in his relations concerning the Arians, and the several under-branches of that stock. His style is mean and insipid, and approaches not the borders of eloquence; it being the character which his good friend St. Jerome long since gave of his writings, that learned men read them for the matter and substance, and the simple only for the sake of the style. The chiefest of his books now extant is his *Panarion*, or work against heresies; wherein, besides the main design, he has preserved many considerable fragments of ancient ecclesiastic authors, nowhere else to be found, and no small part of the history of the church lies in that book. The whole design is divided into two periods, that before, and that since the coming of Christ: the work itself digested into three books. The first contains three tomes (as he calls them) or sections; the first comprehending twenty heresies, the second thirteen, and the third as many. The second book comprises two tomes; in the first eighteen, in the second five heresies are treated of. The third book consists likewise of two tomes; the first has seven heresies, and the second four: in all, eighty; concluding with the Massalians, who start up in the time of Constantius. In com-

<sup>s</sup> Id. Apol. adv. Rufin. l. ii. *ibid.* p. 417. et lib. iii. p. 443.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. CXXII.

piling this excellent and useful work, he had no small assistance from some of the ancients, who in this kind had gone before him, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and some others, whose discourses and relations he improved and enlarged; and entirely added the account of those heresies that arose in his own time, the most active and busy age of the church.

## His Writings.

*Genuine.*

Panarium, sive adversus Hæreses 80.  
 Ancoratus, seu de fide Sermo.  
 Anacephalæosis, seu Panarii Epitome.  
 De Ponderibus et mensuris, liber.  
 Epistola ad Joannem Hierosolymitanum.  
 Lat.  
 Ad Hieronymum Epistola brevis. Lat.

Orationes octo. {  
 I. In Festum Palmarum.  
 II. In Christi Sepulturam.  
 III. In Christi Resurrectionem.  
 IV. In Christi Assumptionem.  
 V. De Laudibus B. Mariæ Virginis.  
 VI. In Festo Palmarum.  
 VII. De Numerorum mysteriis.  
 VIII. De Christi Resurrectione.

*Supposititious.*

Physiologus.  
 De vita et interitu prophetarum.  
 De duodecim gemmis in veste Aaronis.  
 Ejusdem libri Epitome.

*Not extant.*

De Lapidibus.  
 S. Hilarionis encomium.  
 Epistolæ plures.



# THE LIFE OF SAINT CHRYSOSTOM,

## BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

### SECTION I.

#### HIS ACTS FROM HIS BIRTH TILL HIS BEING MADE BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The greatness of the city of Antioch, the place of his nativity. His parents. The singular virtues of his mother. His sister. His education under Libanius. His pleading causes. Under what masters he studied theology. His recovery of Theodorus to an ascetic life. His dear and intimate friendship with Basil. Basil, who. Their joint resolution for a monastic course. The elegant and passionate dissuasive of his mother from engaging in that state of life. His declining a bishopric, and cheating Basil into that office. The occasion of his books *de Sacerdotio*. His retirement into the wilderness: employment, and time of stay there. His entering upon the order of reader. Made deacon. The books he wrote in that station. Ordained presbyter. His first sermon on that occasion. The care of preaching committed to him. The troubles at Antioch, whence. Pulling down and disgracing the imperial statues. Revenge resolved on at court. Commissioners sent thence about it. The miserable consternation and sad face of things at Antioch. Chrysostom's sermons *ad Populum Antiochenum*. Flavian, their bishop, prevailed with to undertake an embassy to court. Libanius sent by the Gentile part of the city. His oration to Theodosius. The activity of the monks at Antioch, and their supplications to the magistrates and commissioners. The humble address and expostulation of Macedonius. The commissioners rigorously execute their orders. Chrysostom's melancholy visitation and survey of the city at that time. Flavian's arrival at court. The emperor's expostulation with him. His eloquent and pathetic discourse to the emperor. Pardon obtained for the city. Theodosius's great tenderness and concernment for them. Flavian's joyful welcome home. The death of Paulinus, the old bishop. Flavian's prudent carriage. A period put to the long schism in that church.

ANTIOCH, seated upon the river Orontes, was the metropolis of Syria, and the capital city of the East, that is, of the Eastern diocese. For the Oriental part of the Roman empire consisting of seven dioceses, five of them were under the jurisdiction of the prætorian prefect of the East, whereof the diocese of the

East (strictly and properly so called, comprehending Syria and the neighbouring countries) was chief, and Antioch the prime city of it, and the ordinary residence of the imperial lieutenant, and very often of the emperors themselves; upon which account it is styled by an ancient geographer, πόλις βασιλισσα,<sup>a</sup> “the royal or imperial city.” Josephus,<sup>b</sup> without any scruple, makes it the third city for greatness, pleasure, and plenty, in the whole Roman world; intending, I suppose, by the other two, Rome and Alexandria. And when Geta divided the Roman government with his brother Antonine, he pitched either upon Antioch or Alexandria for the seat of his empire,<sup>c</sup> looking upon them as cities not much inferior in greatness to Rome itself. Indeed, it was a place large and populous, splendid and magnificent, rich and pleasant, renowned for its professors both of learning and religion. But enough has been said in its commendation, and that in set discourses, by two of the greatest orators of that time in their several professions; the one a Pagan, the other a Christian; the one the master, the other the scholar, and both natives of this place: Libanius,<sup>d</sup> I mean, the standard of eloquence in those days; and he whose Life we now attempt to write, St. John,<sup>e</sup> who, from the fluency and sweetness of his eloquence, derived the surname of Chrysostom, who was born here about the year 354, if we may rely upon the account of his age at the time of his death, generally agreed to be somewhat more than two and fifty years. I confess there are some circumstances of his life, that tempt me to think him born some years before: but the thing not being warranted by any express authorities of the ancients, I shall not take upon me to control the common account. Descended he was of parents considerable for their birth and quality.<sup>f</sup> His father, Secundus, was a person of prime note and dignity, a great officer and chief commander of the army in Syria, but died, it seems, soon after Chrysostom was born, as appears in that when he attended the school of his Gentile master,<sup>g</sup> perhaps Libanius, (at what time he could be very little turned of twenty,) his mother had been

<sup>a</sup> Descript. orb. Gr. Lat. a Gothofred. edit. p. 10.

<sup>b</sup> De bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Herodian. Hist. l. iv. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Orat. Antiochicus dict. ext. vol. ii. p. 332.

<sup>e</sup> Encom. Antioch. Vid. etiam Hom. xvii. ad pop. Antioch. et alibi.

<sup>f</sup> Pallad. Dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 5. Socrat. l. vi. c. 3. Sozom. l. viii. c. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Chrys. ad Vid. jun. s. 2. vol. i. p. 340.

twenty years a widow. Nay, she herself puts it out of all question, expressly affirming it to have been so, in the discourse which she had with her son, of which afterwards. Her name was Secunda, the daughter of an honourable family in the city; a woman prudent, grave, chaste, and pious, left a widow at twenty years of age; and so she continued, to the great honour of her sex, and of her religion too, even in the judgment of the wiser Gentiles of that place. Besides him, they had one only daughter, a good woman, but not over happily married: and had not Palladius told us that she was the eldest, I should have guessed, from Chrysostom's own words,<sup>h</sup> that they had been twins, and had come into the world at the same birth.

II. Having passed through the useless and inactive stage of infancy, together with the exercises of his reason there were discovered in him great appearances of very pregnant parts,<sup>i</sup> which his tender mother took care should be cultivated with all due improvements of education. Accordingly, as years made him capable, he was committed to masters in all arts and faculties. Nature, it seems, had more particularly formed him to the study of oratory, and to that end he put himself under the conduct of Libanius,<sup>j</sup> the celebrated professor of eloquence at Antioch, as he studied philosophy under Andragathius. Libanius quickly found he had a mighty genius for that faculty, and seemed born to be an orator, and therefore particularly delighted in him, and held him in that esteem, that when upon his death-bed his friends asked him who should succeed him in his school,<sup>k</sup> "John, (said he,) had not the Christians stolen him from us." After this, we are told,<sup>l</sup> he went to Athens, (which, indeed, was the fashionable mode and course of study in those times;) what vast proficiencies he made there; how far he outstripped the most accomplished scholars of that place; what mischiefs envy and malice conjured up against him; how he came off in triumph, to the conviction and conversion, not of others only, but of his fiercest enemies, to the Christian faith. But this being supported by no authority ancients than that of George, patriarch of Alexandria, I can give my reader no encouragement to rely upon it. In the school of Libanius he continued a close student for

<sup>h</sup> Epist. cccxxviii. ad soror. vol. iii. p. 732.

<sup>j</sup> Socrat. et Sozom. loc. cit.

<sup>l</sup> Geo. Alex. vit. Chrys. c. 4. ext. Gr. vol. viii. edit. Savil. Lat. ap. Sur. ad Jan. 27.

<sup>i</sup> Pallad. Dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Sozom. ibid.



some time, till being fully prepared and furnished out, he entered upon the practic part of oratory, and for some little time served the *forum*,<sup>m</sup> and pleaded causes. And now it was (if at all) that he made that eloquent oration in praise of the emperor and his two colleague sons, (supposed by Baronius to be the elder Valentinian,<sup>n</sup> and his sons Gratian and Valentinian,) so much extolled and cried up by Libanius, and all that heard or read it, as he tells him in a letter written to him upon this occasion.<sup>o</sup> But a learned man not improperly conjectures the John mentioned by Libanius to have been another person,<sup>p</sup> an advocate who then lived at Constantinople, and that he made that panegyric to Theodosius at what time he assumed his sons into a partnership of the empire. However that be, he soon grew weary of this course of life, as not agreeing with the strictness and severity of his temper; he retired therefore to read the holy scriptures, and gave himself to the study of theology, not a little encouraged herein by the example of Evagrius, his townsman and school-fellow, who had sometime since betaken himself to this way of life. The masters to whose precepts and instructions he submitted himself, were Carterius and Diodorus, prefects of the famous monasteries in the suburbs of Antioch. This Diodorus was afterwards made bishop of Tarsus, a man of sense and learning; he wrote several commentaries upon the scripture, wherein he generally kept himself to the letter, discharging the mystical and allegorical sense. And from him, no doubt, Chrysostom derived his excellent vein (so peculiar to him above most of the ancient fathers) of explaining scripture in the literal and historical way. Nor was he content himself to enjoy the benefit of such admirable tutors, but by his influence and persuasion prevailed with some of his fellow-students in Libanius's school to come over to them; especially Maximus, afterwards bishop of Seleucia in Isauria; and Theodorus,<sup>q</sup> a man exquisitely learned and eloquent, but who, after a strict profession of the ascetic way, returned back to the secular life, and designed to marry: which Chrysostom no sooner heard of, but he pursued him with two set discourses,<sup>r</sup> wherein he plied him with such powerful reasons and pathetical insinua-

<sup>m</sup> Chrys. de sacerd. l. i. c. 1. Vid. Socrat. et Sozom. ubi supr.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Ann. 382.

<sup>o</sup> Ext. ap. Isid. Pel. l. ii. epist. 42.

<sup>p</sup> Vales. Annot. ad Socrat. l. vi. p. 75.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. viii. c. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Ad Theod. laps. Parænes. ii. ext. vol. i. p. 1.

tions, that he soon broke the measures he had taken, and reduced him to his former state of life, wherein he continued till he was advanced to the bishopric of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.

III. But among all Chrysostom's acquaintance, none was so dear and familiar to him as Basil, supposed by Socrates,<sup>s</sup> and those who follow him, to have been the great St. Basil of Cæsarea; by Photius<sup>t</sup> and others, the Basil that was bishop of Seleucia; but perhaps neither the one nor the other; the first being almost impossible, the latter highly improbable, and therefore must be a third person between both. Between him and this Basil, whoever he was, there was an entire league of friendship, founded upon a more than ordinary conformity of tempers,<sup>u</sup> manners, studies, and education under the same masters, and in the same paths of learning. They had now passed through the whole circle of the sciences, and were deliberating what course of life were best to steer, both of them inclining to the monastic course. Basil, who had little to stake him down to the world, quickly conquered all difficulties. But Chrysostom had an estate, and external affairs had taken some hold of him, and he could not easily, and on a sudden break loose. And in this perplexed and wavering condition he continued till Basil, by his daily arguments and solicitations, had baffled all objections, and fixed his resolutions, and now it was concluded, that they should quit their present stations, and immediately retire to spend their lives together in some solitary place. But this resolution was not so closely carried, but Chrysostom's mother smelt it out.<sup>v</sup> The good woman, unwilling to be deprived of the company and assistance of such a son, was strangely startled at it, and taking him one day by the hand, led him into her own apartment, where, setting him down by her upon that very bed whereon she had brought him forth, that what she had to say might make the more sensible impression, she burst out into some passion, and with tears in her eyes began to discourse to him in this manner. "Son, (said she,) it was but a little time (so God was pleased to order it) that I had the happiness to enjoy the virtuous and excellent conversation of your father, whose death soon followed those pains I endured at your birth; and the same unseasonable stroke made you an orphan, and me a widow, and

\* Lib. vi. c. 3.

<sup>u</sup> Chrys. de sacerdot. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Phot. Cod. CXLVIII.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid. c. 2.

brought upon me those troubles and miseries of a widowed state, which none can rightly understand but they who feel them. For no language can sufficiently represent what disturbances and inquietudes necessarily attend a young woman, newly taken from under her father's roof, wholly unexperienced in the management of affairs, and thrown into the midst of griefs and sorrows, too big to be borne either by her strength, sex, or years. Forced she must be to contend with and correct the laziness, and to watch the miscarriages of servants, to countermince and prevent the treacherous counsels and designs of relations, to bear with the clamorous importunity, rude incivilities, and cruel usages of collectors and officers: her husband dies, and leaves a child; if it be a daughter, it creates the mother no little care, though withal her education at home is both less expensive and dangerous; but if a son, it fills her with a thousand cares and fears every day, not to speak of the charges she must be at that intends him a liberal education. And yet none of these considerations have once prevailed with me to alter my condition, and bring a second husband into your father's house: I have been content to be tossed in the storm and tempest, and being assisted by a power from above, have not declined the hardships of this iron-furnace; it not being the least support to me, amidst all these sufferings, that I could daily behold your face, and thereby had continually before my eyes the lively image, the perfect character and resemblance of your deceased father. It was this, that while you were yet a tender infant, and before you could speak, (at what time parents take the greatest pleasure in their children,) made me look upon you with a perpetual satisfaction and delight. Nor can you lay it to my charge, that though I have generously borne up under the cares of widowhood, yet to relieve the necessities of that state I have wasted your paternal inheritance, (which yet I know in several instances has been the hard fate and case of orphans;) no, I have preserved it untouched and entire; and yet have not spared any cost, to give you such an education, as might raise you to a just esteem and reputation in the world; the charges whereof I have defrayed out of my own estate, and which I brought with me as my proper portion. Think not I say this to upbraid you: the only kind requital I ask for all I have done, is, that you would not involve me in a second widowhood, nor revive my



buried grief; stay but till I am gone, it is like it will not be long. For those that are young, there is some hope they may arrive at an old age; but for us that are already in years, nothing remains but a continual expectation of death. When therefore you have committed me to the ground, and laid mine beside your father's bones, then travel whither you please, and cross what seas you have a mind to, there will be none to hinder you. But while I live, be content that one house should hold us; do not so far provoke God against you, as thus miserably to afflict a mother, that has not deserved it at your hands. If you think you have this against me, that I have put you upon secular affairs, and forced you to look after your own concerns; regard not the laws of nature, let not education, converse, or any thing else sway with you, but account me as an enemy, and an underminer of your happiness. But if it shall appear, that I have so transacted all affairs, as that you in the mean time may enjoy the most easy and undisturbed course of life, though there were nothing else, let this prevail with you to stay with me. For although you may pretend there are a thousand love your company, yet there can be none that can so much minister to your ease and freedom, nor can there be any to whom your credit and reputation can be equally dear, as it is to me."

IV. This, and much more to the same purpose, the indulgent mother laid before him;<sup>w</sup> with all which he failed not immediately to acquaint his friend, who was so far from yielding that he should acquiesce in those counsels, that he pressed him so much the more to adhere to his former resolutions. They spent some time in these debates, the one importuning, the other suspending his consent, when, on a sudden, a rumour was spread abroad, that they were both to be made bishops. Chrysostom was strangely surprised at the report, and equally divided between fear and admiration: afraid he was lest the rumour should be so far true, as that the sacred function should be forced upon him; but wondered withal, how such a design should be taken up by any, especially considering his own unworthiness and unfitness for it. (I might add, considering also the incompetency of his years for so grave and solemn an office: for, according to the commonly-received account of his age, he could not at this

<sup>w</sup> Chrys. de sacerd. l. i. c. 3.

time be much more than twenty-one years old.) He was entertaining himself with these reflections, when in comes Basil, who supposing him ignorant of what was talked abroad, took him privately aside, and told him the whole matter, desiring, that as always hitherto, so now they might steer the same course, protesting he was most ready to follow his conduct, either in declining or accepting the proposal. Chrysostom resolved not to engage in that weighty office, but being unwilling that his refusal should deprive the church of the other's excellent assistance, for once concealed his intentions from him, putting him off with a general answer, that there was time enough to consult, and no need to come to a present conclusion in this matter; but withal giving him some ground to believe, that if the business should go on, he would go the same way with him. The day for their consecration being come, Basil, supposing his colleague would be there, or, as some would persuade him, that he had been before him, was taken hold of, and the holy hands laid upon him. The solemnity being over, and Chrysostom never appearing, his first business was to find him out, which having done, with a look divided betwixt grief and anger, he sat down by him, but was not presently able to vent his mind. Chrysostom perceived his passion too hard for him, but smiled upon him, and taking him by the hand, offered to kiss it, thanking God that he had so successfully accomplished his desires. Basil, at length mastering the discomposure of his thoughts, fell into a long harangue, wherein he expostulated with him for his unfaithfulness and unkindness; and that though he had had no regard to the laws of friendship, yet he should have had some tenderness for his own reputation, which by this means he had exposed to the censures of every company, that he could go no where but it was cast as a reproach upon him; and that now, in a time of most need, he had drawn back his hand, and cut off the aids of their mutual assistance. Chrysostom replied, he had done nothing but what was justifiable; he had deceived him, it is true, but for his own advantage, and much more for the good of the church; and in such cases he shewed from several instances, it was not unlawful by little arts to overreach another. After some contest in these light skirmishes, they next enter into the merits of the cause, and discourse at large concerning the nature and necessity, the burden and difficulty, the

danger and the reward of the pastoral and episcopal office, the qualification and demeanour of the persons, and the great charity of the undertaking. All which afterwards, in the time of his recess, he drew up into those six excellent books *de Sacerdotio*, extant at this day.

V. He was now at liberty, and away he goes to the neighbouring mountains,\* which were full of monasteries, where he fell into converse with an aged hermit of that country, whose strictness and abstinence he set before him, inuring himself to study and hardship. Four years he continued in his company, when he betook himself to a more solitary part, where he dwelt alone, and shutting himself up in his cell, allowed himself little or no rest, not going to bed, nor so much as lying upon the ground, day or night for two years together, perpetually intent upon his devotions and the study of the holy scriptures: till finding all irregular appetites wholly subdued, and through his continual standing, watching, and abstinence, infirmities growing fast upon him, and nobody near at hand to give him any assistance, he came back to Antioch, where he was ordained reader of that church by Zeno,<sup>y</sup> (who returned that way from Jerusalem,) Meletius bishop of Antioch being at that time probably from home, or else deputing Zeno to that service: this, Palladius expressly says,<sup>z</sup> was done before Chrysostom's retirement into the wilderness, and that for three years before that he had remained in Meletius's family, who being taken with the quickness of his parts, and the honesty of his temper, had perfectly instructed him in the faith, and first baptized, and then ordained him. About the beginning of the year 381, if not the year before, Meletius, some time before his going to the synod at Constantinople, made him deacon, after whose death, (for he died that year,) the church of Antioch was again miserably distracted by the pretensions of Paulinus and Flavianus to that see. Chrysostom thought it his prudence to side with neither, but pursued his studies with unwearied diligence, composing at this time several useful and excellent discourses; his books *Against the Jews*, that *Against the Gentiles*, and the five *Against the Anomæan Heretics*, besides those *de Sacerdotio*, (which he had begun, if not perfected, during his retirement in the mountains;) and a *Vindication of Providence*, in three books,

\* Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 3.

<sup>z</sup> De vit. Chrys. c. 5.



written to his dear friend Stagirus, a monk, who laboured under a deep-rooted melancholy, and contested with the fierce and frequent assaults and conflicts of the devil; and some others. Five years he served in the diaconate,<sup>a</sup> when, having given a sufficient testimony of his great abilities and excellent life, Flavianus (for surely Socrates mistakes, when he says it was Euagrius) promoted him, though not without great reluctance on his part, to the order of presbyter. And the first sermon he preached was on that occasion,<sup>b</sup> the bishop himself being present; where, in a very elegant discourse, he declaims against the unfitness of the choice, and wonders that in so great and eminent a city, the burden of such a work should be devolved upon such young feeble shoulders, begging however that they would own what was done, and assist him by their prayers to heaven, that he might be able to go through with it, and to acquit himself of the trust that God had committed to his charge, at the great day of accounts. And indeed the people were so charmed with his eloquent sermons, that the bishop for the most part committed that province to him, who managed it with equal modesty and diligence, and to the no less content and satisfaction of his auditors.

VI. Anno 387, as some will have it, but more truly the following year, (for he entered upon the empire January the 16th, 379,) the emperor Theodosius prepared to celebrate his *decennalia*, as also the *quinquennalia* of his son Arcadius. But his coffers were low, sufficiently drained by his late wars, not to mention the expedition he had now in hand. To supply these charges, new ways must be thought of, and an extraordinary tax is agreed to be levied.<sup>c</sup> The warrant for which coming to Antioch, was executed with great rigour and severity, those that refused payment being some of them thrown into prison, others put to the torture, and some hanged up. The assessment itself gave no small discontent, but more the manner of its execution; and the people of Antioch being naturally of a turbulent and unquiet temper, things tended apace to an open tumult. The night before it broke out, a *spectrum* (they say) in the shape of

<sup>a</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Ext. vol. i. p. 436.

<sup>c</sup> Sozom. l. vii. c. 23. Theodor. l. v. c. 20. Niceph. l. xii. c. 43. Zosim. Hist. Rom. l. iv. c. 41. Liban. de vit. sua, vol. ii. p. 75. et Orat. xii. p. 394. Orat. xiii. p. 406, 407. xx. p. 516. xxi. p. 526.

a woman, of an immense bigness, and a terrible aspect, was seen flying up and down with a swift motion through the streets of the city, lashing the air with a whip that made a dreadful noise. The next day, the people gathering together, the boys began the rout, then the youth, and last of all the body of the people came in, who inflamed and encouraged one another to that height, that casting off all reverence to law and government, they pulled down the brazen statues of the emperor, and his lady Placcilla, dead some time before, together with those of his father and mother, and the two young princes, Arcadius and Honorius, and tying ropes to their feet, dragged them, some broken, some whole, in contempt up and down the streets, and treated them with that insolent rudeness and those bitter sarcasms and reflections that are incident to all popular commotions, but more peculiar to the genius and temper of that city. News hereof was soon carried to court, whereat Theodosius stormed, and vowed revenge, that he would take away their charter, abrogate their privileges, and bestow the metropolitan honour upon Laodicea, their neighbour rival city; that he would fire their town, and reduce it to a petty village, and by exemplary punishment upon the citizens make them for ever tremble to think of the like attempts. And that they might see he was in good earnest, he appointed Ellebichus master of the horse, and Cæsarius controller of the palace, to go commissioners to inquire into the fact, and to proceed according to law and justice, and to take sufficient forces along with them, to put their orders into execution.

VII. Sad in the meantime was the face of things at Antioch.<sup>d</sup> The riot being over, and their rage cooling, they began to consider what they had done; and apprehending the consequences of majesty so desperately provoked, nothing but flight and fear, amazement and consternation, filled every corner. Those that conveniently could, fled the city; those that were taken, were hurried to prison; the greatest part kept their houses and durst not stir abroad, and only by whispers dared to inquire of one another, who was caught, or who had been punished that day. The forum, that a little before was so thronged and crowded,

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Chrys. Hom. ii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 21. Hom. vi. s. 1. p. 74. xii. s. 1. p. 123. xiii. s. 1. p. 133. xvi. in init. xvii. s. 1. p. 171. et alibi. Liban. Orat. xxi. p. 527.

was now naked and empty; one or two perhaps seen run creeping or skulking over it, and that with a dejected or a frightful look. Those that stayed lived Cain's life, full of fear and trembling; hourly expecting when an army should arrive to lay waste the city, confiscate their estates, and take away their lives. The images of death, and the most barbarous cruelty, were perpetually before their eyes; flight, imprisonment, violence, beating, were familiar objects, and worse was yet behind; and what was worse than mere dying, the dreadful apprehension and expectation of it. In this sad and doleful juncture of affairs, Chrysostom behaved himself with a truly generous and Christian resolution. A week being now passed, and men's minds somewhat more composed and settled, he summoned his auditory into the old church; and it being now the Lent-season, preached to them every day, persuading them to a more than ordinary repentance, and endeavouring to support their minds under that black and dismal storm that hung over their heads. And now it was that he preached those twenty-one famous homilies, styled εἰς τοὺς Ἀνδριάντας, or "Concerning the Statues," to the people of Antioch; all which, two or three excepted, were peculiarly preached upon this occasion. The truth is, the unhappy circumstances they were under had this good effect,<sup>e</sup> that it startled all sorts of men into sober thoughts, retrenched vice and lewdness, and made men more fervent and serious in religious duties. Many who had never been within the church doors, but spent their whole time at the theatre, now fled to the church as a common sanctuary, and there stayed from morning till night. You could scarce hear any thing but weeping and mourning, prayers and tears: and peculiar liturgies were framed on purpose,<sup>f</sup> and hymns of lamentation to solicit heaven, that God would dispose the heart of the emperor to clemency and compassion towards them.

VIII. Nor did they think it enough to fast and petition heaven, but that it was necessary also that an humble address should be made at court, if possible, to appease the emperor: and none so fit for such an errand, an embassy of peace and mercy, as their bishop Flavianus. The good man wanted not arguments to plead for his excuse; it was an unwelcome errand,

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Hom. iv. s. 2. p. 52. vi. s. 1. p. 74. xvii. s. 1. p. 171.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. vii. c. 23.



himself greatly in years and under many infirmities, it was a long way and a winter's journey, the holy time of Easter drawing on that would require his presence, and his only sister at this time lying at the point of death.<sup>g</sup> But the public welfare conquered all private considerations, and without delay he put himself upon his journey, and was now got half way,<sup>h</sup> when he met the judges that were coming from the emperor. From them he understood how highly the matter was resented at court, and what severe things they had in charge against the city: the news whereof almost broke the good man's heart, and melted him into tears; and it added no little accent to his sorrow, that all this was like to befall it while he was absent from them. His grief whetted his devotions, and he spent whole nights in prayer, that God would spare the city, soften the emperor's spirit, and let him see the happy success of his undertaking. I know Zosimus reports,<sup>i</sup> that Libanius the sophist, and Hilary, a person of note for his quality and learning, and soon after made governor of Palestine, were despatched by the senate as their ambassadors to court, who by their power and eloquence might charm Theodosius's passion, and set all straight. That they were sent as delegates on behalf of the Gentile part of the city, I readily grant. That Libanius went, is evident from the oration he made at Constantinople before the emperor upon this very argument,<sup>j</sup> wherein he represents this sedition as the effect of frenzy and madness, and the instigation of some malignant demon; pressing the emperor to mercy and forgiveness, as the most divine God-like quality. He lays before him matter of fact, deplores the sad state of affairs at Antioch, and by many elegant and pathetical insinuations prepares his mind to commiseration; begging, in the close of his discourse, that the emperor would do this honour and favour to his old age, to grant his request, and return him with a joyful and welcome message back to Antioch. But though Libanius and some few others of that party might bestir themselves in behalf of the public, yet it is certain, the greatest part of them concerned themselves only how to provide for their own safety; Chrysostom expressly assuring us,<sup>k</sup> that in that great and general consternation that overspread the city, the heathen

<sup>g</sup> Chrys. Hom. iii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 35.

<sup>h</sup> Hom. xxi. s. 2. p. 216.

<sup>i</sup> Histor. l. iv. c. 41.

<sup>j</sup> Orat. xii. p. 389.

<sup>k</sup> Hom. xvii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 173.

philosophers, with all their ensigns of gravity and ostentation, fled out of the city, and hid themselves in holes and corners, notwithstanding all their pretences to virtue and courage; not a man of them staying to interpose by his authority and counsel, and to assist in the common danger; which he there presses as a notable disparagement to their cause, and a plain evidence of the excellent spirit of Christianity; that when things were thus, even the solitary monks left their cells, and flocked into the city, setting themselves with one common shoulder to oppose that inundation of misery that was flowing in upon it. They boldly addressed themselves to the judges and magistrates,<sup>1</sup> beseeching them to use their authority with lenity and moderation: and when told, that they were bound up by their places, and that it was a thing of dangerous consequence to pass over persons guilty of high treason, the monks urged, that they would make use however of what power they had; that when any persons were convicted of the fact, they would intercede with the commissioners not to pass sentence of condemnation upon them, but to refer the final issue to the emperor's own determination, promising themselves to undertake an embassy to court, and to deal effectually with the emperor about this matter. The magistrates told them, it was too long a journey for them to undertake; and that it should suffice, if they committed their petitions to writings, which they promised to convey to court, which was afterwards done accordingly. And when the imperial commissioners were arrived, they came undauntedly to them,<sup>m</sup> and begged pardon for the guilty, and offered themselves to become a ransom for them; protesting they would not leave them, till they had either passed an act of indemnity to the city, or should send them together with the malefactors to the emperor. His majesty (said they) is a pious and a gracious prince, whom we will undertake to pacify; nor will we suffer the sword of justice to be dyed in any man's blood; and if this be not granted us, we are here ready to suffer and die with them. Heinous, we confess, and not to be justified, are the things that have been committed; but the greatness of the crimes does not exceed the mercy and clemency of the emperor. This was the intercession of them all: more particularly Macedonius,<sup>n</sup> a man

<sup>1</sup> Hom. xvii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 173.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. s. 1. p. 172.

<sup>n</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 20. Vid. Chrysost. ibid. 2. p. 173.

of no learning, but of incomparable strictness and sanctity of life, catching one of the commissioners by the cloak, as they rode through the city, commanded them to alight. They, seeing him to be a little old man in coarse tattered garments, at first despised him. But being acquainted by some of their train with the fame and virtues of the man, they dismounted, and embracing his knees, asked his pardon, and to know his mind. "Friends, (replied he,) communicate this message to the emperor. You are, sir, not only an emperor, but a man; look not therefore merely on the height of your majesty, but regard the nature you are of, and remember that being a man, you govern men like yourself. The human nature is made in the image and likeness of God; do not you give command cruelly to destroy this image, lest you provoke the artist, by defacing of his image, which you may reasonably think you shall do, when you consider to what height of passion you yourself are transported only for the sake of a brazen statue. And what a vast difference there is between a senseless image and one that is endued with motion, life, and reason, is obvious I suppose at first sight. Let it be further considered, that it is easy with us for one statue of brass to erect a thousand; but it is beyond all the power of empire and majesty, to create but one single hair of the head of any of those persons whom he shall put to death." The gravity of the man, and the weight of his reasonings, made them listen to his discourse with great attention, which afterwards they transmitted to the emperor.

IX. The commissioners in the mean while applied themselves to the execution of their commission: they disfranchised the city, abolished their charters and immunities, shut up all places of public commerce, their baths, market-places, and theatres; seized suspected persons, especially the nobility and those of the better sort, who had been either authors or aiders in the late commotions, whom they imprisoned, and summoned before the courts of judicature. Guards are set in every place, tables of proscription affixed and published, and instruments of execution made ready. Thus it was, and little better had it been even before the commissioners arrived, the ordinary magistrates bestirring themselves in their several places, so that the whole city appeared but one continued scene of misery and sorrow. Chrysostom, to gratify his curiosity, went one day up and down



the city, to take a melancholy survey of the state of things. Coming towards the courts of justice,<sup>o</sup> he saw the little remainders of the city standing at the gates, but in a profound sadness and silence, none daring to ask a question, lest he should be the next that should be picked out; every one with dumb signs of devotion making his address to heaven, that God would assist the afflicted, and dispose the judges to clemency and favour. Entering within the court, he beheld nothing but armed guards, soldiers standing with swords and spears, to keep out the press of women and children; who, with the most lamentable cries and tears, came to solicit the bench for mercy to their husbands and fathers, and other near relations, who within were in the mean time condemned, scourged, and punished. They threw themselves upon the ground, and with all the passionate expressions that might move pity, besought favour for their relatives; but all in vain; the hard-hearted soldiers drove them back, and treated them with great savageness and inhumanity. It was a melancholy sight; the good man sighed, and as he went home entertained himself with this meditation: "What would be the state of things at the great day, if human tribunals be so inexorable, that not a mother, a sister, a father, though themselves innocent and unguilty of the fact, can prevail for the pardon of their nearest relatives; who shall be able to stand by us before the dreadful judgment-seat of Christ? Who shall plead for us at that bar? Or be able to deliver us, when haled away to those everlasting punishments?" The persons here judged were no common persons, but the prime nobility of the city; and yet they would have accounted it a fair bargain, to have parted with their estates, and their liberties too, to have saved their lives. The people daily prayed to heaven to incline the hearts of the magistrates to put a present stop to these proceedings; but the judges went on in their trials and examinations, till by the importunity and intercession of the monks and clergy, a respite was granted, and that no further execution should be made, till the whole affair had been laid before the emperor, and his sentence were given in the case: the news whereof filled the city with joy and triumph, and greatly quieted men's fears, as appears by the sermons which St. Chrysostom immediately preached upon it.

<sup>o</sup> Hom. xiii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 1, 2. vol. ii. p. 133, etc.

X. But we must leave Antioch for a while, that we may follow after and overtake Flavianus, whom we left upon his journey to Constantinople.<sup>p</sup> Arriving at court, he came into the presence, but kept himself at a distance, and stood with a dejected look, and tears in his eyes, as if ashamed to be seen or taken notice of: whom Theodosius espying in this mournful posture, came towards him, and without any transports of passion began calmly to expostulate with him about the ingratitude of the city of Antioch, upon which, throughout the whole course of his reign, he had heaped so many graces and benefits; at the mention of each of which he added, “and must I be thus requited for all my kindness?” What evil have I done them, that they should take such a revenge? What heinous matter have they to charge upon me, that they should disgrace not only me, but the deceased? Could not their spleen and passion be satisfied with the living? Or did they think it nothing, unless they did reproach and affront the dead? Admit I had done as much injury as they suppose, yet they ought to have spared the deceased, who had done them none, nor can they pretend to charge her with it. Did I not ever highly value and esteem that city above any other, yea, beyond my own native country? and was it not my constant wish, and that to whom upon all occasions I had obliged myself by the most solemn engagements, that I would make a personal visit to it? The good bishop stood by, and wept plentifully; and when the emperor had done, summoned his reason, and began in this manner: “We acknowledge, sir, with all readiness, your majesty’s great favour towards our city, and it is this that puts us into mourning, that at the envious instigation of the devil, we have appeared so ungrateful to our great benefactor, and have so much exasperated a person who had so immense an affection for us. Though you should demolish, or burn our houses, or kill our persons, or do any other acts of severity, you would not take a sufficient revenge upon us. We ourselves have before-hand adjudged ourselves to what is worse than a thousand deaths. For what can be more bitter, than that when we have unjustly provoked so kind a benefactor, the world should ring of it, and reproach us with our monstrous ingratitude? Had the Barbarians besieged our city, pulled down our walls, or fired our houses, and carried

our citizens into captivity, this had been a far less evil ; because, so long as you live, and continue such a generous kindness towards us, there would be hope that these miseries would have an end, and that we might again repair and enlarge our broken fortunes. But having now forfeited your favour, and violated your gracious protection, which was a defence to us beyond all our walls and bulwarks, whither shall we now fly for shelter? So benign a lord, so indulgent a father, being disobliged, whence can we look for help ? The things they have done are intolerable, but they have heavily punished themselves, having brought themselves to that pass, that they are ashamed to look any man in the face, or so much as to lift up their eyes to behold the sun : they have lost their liberty, and are become more despicable than the vilest slaves : and reflecting upon the evil circumstances into which they have brought themselves, they are ready to sink under a sense of that dishonour which the concurrent judgment of the whole world must needs cast upon them. But yet, sir, if you please, this wound may be healed, and these evils are yet capable of a remedy." Then he proceeds to shew, "that great offences have oft given occasion to the exercise of a noble and a generous charity ; that the broken statues might be repaired ; but to pardon so great crimes in this case, was the way to erect a better, more noble, and durable representation of himself in the minds of men, and to set up as many several images of his great compassion and goodness, as there were, or ever should be, persons in the world. He urged him with the example of the great Constantine, who, when some about him persuaded him to be revenged on those that had abused his statue, saying, they had miserably battered his face, felt with his hand about his face, and smiling said, 'I do not at all find myself bruised or broken, but that head and face are both sound and whole.' An answer that rendered him famous to all posterity, beyond the trophies of his greatness, and all the monuments of his victories. He put him in mind of his own edicts, sent into all parts for the pardoning and releasing of prisoners in the paschal solemnities, wherein he had testified so heroic a charity, that for those already executed, he wished he were able to bring them back to life again : that the honour of his religion was greatly concerned in the humanity of his resolution, seeing the eyes of Jew and Gentile were upon him, and would thence take the measures of



it: that there was no fear others should by this clemency be encouraged to rebellion, this being an act of grace, not of weakness and want of power, with which he was sufficiently furnished to call any to account: that this was the way to oblige all mankind to him, and to entitle him to greater blessings from heaven; and that it would be an honour to him in future ages, that when he would do it at no other instance, yet he would do it for God's sake, at the petition of a poor aged bishop, who came with this authority to tell him from his great Master, 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.' " And then concluded thus, "Remember that day, when we shall all give an account of our actions, and that by this mild and merciful sentence you may easily make way to the pardon of your transgressions. Others may present you with gold and silver, I am come to your presence with divine laws and precepts, which I offer instead of all other gifts; beseeching you to imitate your great Sovereign, who, though daily affronted by us, ceases not to do us good. Do not disappoint our hopes, nor shame our expectations; for I freely declare before your majesty and the world, that if you please to remit your displeasure, and be reconciled to us, and restore the city to its former place in your grace and favour, I will go back with cheerfulness and rejoicing; if not, I am resolved never to see or own it more, but to fix my abode somewhere else. For may it never be my portion to have that place for my country, with which so merciful a prince, the mildest and best of men, refuses to be reconciled."

XI. The bishop ended his discourse, and it was hard to say who was most transported, he that spake or he that heard it, though for the present the emperor made a shift to stifle and conceal his passion. Sozomen adds,<sup>a</sup> that besides his eloquent oration, Flavian made use of another artifice, which was to persuade the pages, who were wont to sing to the emperor while he was at dinner, to sing to him those mourning hymns and litanies that had been composed and sung at Antioch, with which he was so affected, that he wept over the cup which he then held in his hand. He told the bishop,<sup>r</sup> "what great matter (said he) is it, that we should pardon those that have affronted us? that we that are men should forgive those that are so? especially when it is considered, that the great Lord of the world

<sup>a</sup> Lib. vii. c. 23.

<sup>r</sup> Chrys. Hom. xxi. ad pop. Antioch. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 223.

came down upon earth, and for our sakes became a servant ; and, though crucified by those to whom he had done the highest favours, yet prayed for the pardon of his very crucifiers, ‘ Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ What wonder, then, if we forgive our fellow-servants ?” Flavian having thus far happily despatched his errand, was willing to have rested a while, and to have kept his Easter with the emperor. But the good prince ordered him immediately to hasten his return. “ I know (said he) the minds of the citizens must needs be uneasy, and hang between hopes and fears, and that the trouble and danger is not yet quite over; go and carry them the comfortable tidings. When they shall see their pilot, they will forget the present storm and tempest, and the memory of all past calamities.” The bishop insisted that, as the greatest evidence and declaration of his perfectly reconciled favour,<sup>s</sup> his majesty would please to send the prince, his son, along with him. Pray to God, (replied the emperor,) that the present rubs may be thrown out of the way, the wars wherein I am engaged happily accomplished, and that done, I assure you I will come myself. Nor did his care end here, but when the bishop had taken his leave, and had crossed the sea, in order to his return, not knowing what delays he might make, or what interruptions he might meet with, he sent messengers after him to expedite his departure. And, indeed, so desirous was Flavian that the city should be revived with the joyful news, that, not being able to travel himself fast enough, he sent the emperor’s welcome letters by the post, that so all clouds of fears and sadness might be immediately dispelled and scattered. However himself made such despatch, that he got home before Easter, and made his entry into Antioch in triumph, the forum being crowned with garlands, replenished with lights, the doors and shop windows set off with flowers and green branches, and all other expressions of the most festival solemnity. And to consummate all, they went to church, and Chrysostom welcomed his return in a gratulatory oration for the prosperous success of his undertaking.

XII. Thus ended the troubles of Antioch : about, or not long before, which time died Paulinus,<sup>t</sup> one of the catholic bishops of that church. He had been consecrated bishop of Antioch by

<sup>s</sup> Vid. quæ habet Liban. Orat. xiii. p. 418.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. v. c. 15. Sozom. l. vii. c. 11. Theodor. l. v. c. 23.

Lucifer Calaritanus in the reign of Julian, and had been a means to continue the unhappy dissensions in that church, part of the Catholics adhering to him, as others did to Flavian, who succeeded Meletius. Paulinus's cause was espoused by pope Damasus, and his successor Siricius, and the Western bishops; as that of Flavian generally was by them of the East, he being some years since confirmed in that see by the great council at Constantinople. Upon the death of Paulinus, he well hoped the schism would have expired, but it proved to the contrary; for Paulinus's party refused to join with Flavian, and procured Evagrius, a presbyter of that place, to be ordained their bishop. Great complaints were made to the emperor, who more than once sent for Flavian, commanding him to go, and have his cause judged in a synod at Rome; who replied, "If, sir, (said he,) any one can charge me with unsoundness in point of faith, or can challenge my life as unworthy the episcopal station, I refuse not to accept my very accusers for my judges, and shall willingly acquiesce in whatever sentence they shall pronounce upon me. But if the quarrel be only about dignity, and the precedency of my see, I shall not contend, nor oppose them that would invade it, but am ready to quit and throw it up; bestow it, sir, upon whom you please." The emperor admired the wisdom and even temper of the man, and dismissed him home without further trouble; and by his mediation in the West reconciled at length all parties to him. Though most probable it is, what Socrates reports, that Evagrius dying not long after his consecration, Flavian, by his prudent care, prevented any further succession, and in a little time brought over the other party to him, and thereby put a period to the long-continued schism in that church.

## SECTION II.

HIS ACTS FROM HIS BEING MADE BISHOP TILL THE TRIAL OF ANTONINUS  
BISHOP OF EPHESUS.

The death of Nectarius. Chrysostom recommended to be his successor. The emperor's warrant to Antioch for his removal. His private conveyance to Constantinople. Theophilus of Alexandria against his consecration, and why. His zealous and impartial reformation of his church. His revenues employed to build and endow hospitals.



His correcting the abuses of all ranks and conditions. The spite and ill-will the corrupt clergy bore him. A woman of the Macedonian sect miraculously converted. His free reproving Eutropius, the emperor's favourite, and upon what account. The fall of that man, and his taking sanctuary in the church. Chrysostom's sermon upon that occasion. The disgrace, banishment, and death of Eutropius. Chrysostom's obstinate refusal to grant a church to the Arians at the request of Gainas. Their quarrel upon that account. Chrysostom's bold address to the emperor. Gainas's treason and rebellion. Chrysostom sent on an embassy to him. Gainas slain. The arrival of the Egyptian monks at Constantinople. Chrysostom makes provision for them, but denies to admit them to communion. Messengers from Theophilus to Chrysostom about this matter. Chrysostom's intercession in their behalf. His second letter. Theophilus's last answer to him.

It happened towards the declining part of anno 397, viz. September 27, that Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople,<sup>u</sup> departed this life. Great expectations there were who should succeed in the imperial see. Many candidates and competitors appeared for it, and, as in such cases it too often happens, the unworthiest persons, who had nothing else to recommend them, sought by bribes and ill arts of information to oblige the great men at court; the people, in the meantime, earnestly petitioning the emperor, that they might have a worthy prelate placed over them. The man that was then most in favour at court was Eutropius, the eunuch, chief chamberlain of the palace. He had, in pursuance of the emperor's affairs, resided for some time in the East, where he had been acquainted with Chrysostom: him he very heartily recommended to the emperor, as a person, for his life, learning, and eloquence, of all others fittest for that place; but that withal, that the affair should be secretly managed, it being otherwise no easy matter to get him thence. The motion pleased Arcadius, and was as well resented among the people. So letters were written to Asterius, governor of the East, to take care about this matter; who knowing the turbulent temper of that people, and how impossible it was to persuade them to part with their admired eloquent preacher, kept the letters to himself, and pretending some private business with Chrysostom, desired him to accompany him a little way out of town, as far as the *martyria*, beyond the Roman gate. So taking him up into his chariot, he drove in all haste to Pagrae, the next stage to Antioch, where he delivered him to the officers whom the emperor

<sup>u</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 5. Socrat. l. vi. c. 2. Sozom. l. viii. c. 2. Theodor. l. v. c. 27. Niceph. l. xiii. c. 2.

had sent to receive him, who forthwith conveyed him to Constantinople. The emperor, that he might render both his arrival and his consecration more august and venerable, and that it might be performed with the utmost solemnity, had summoned a convention of the most eminent bishops to assist at it. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, strenuously opposed his ordination; by his looks he guessed him to be a man of an inflexible temper, and one that would certainly thwart his humour and interest; besides, he was desirous to advance Isidore, his own beloved presbyter, to that see; and thereby to have made so great and powerful a part of the Eastern church sure to him. Upon these accounts he stood off, till seeing that he swam against the stream, he consented and concurred with the rest, especially after Eutropius had threatened him, that unless he ratified the common choice, he should be himself presently brought to trial; there being several in town ready to exhibit to the synod a charge of many crimes and enormities committed by him. Hereupon he struck sail, and Chrysostom was consecrated and enthroned, February the 26th, anno 398. But though Theophilus thus complied, it was with no little uneasiness to his mind, and it heightened his prejudice against Chrysostom into an inveterate and irreconcilable spleen against him to his dying day.

II. No sooner was he entered upon his charge, but he discovered the mighty zeal and impartiality of his temper.<sup>w</sup> He found the state of the church within his province, through the too much facility of his predecessor, lapsed into a strange degeneracy, which he resolved to reduce to the strictness of ancient discipline. And first he began to inspect the manners of the clergy,<sup>x</sup> and all other ecclesiastic persons. A corrupt custom had crept in amongst them, to keep in their houses maids or matrons, whom the writers of the church usually style *συνεισάκτους*, “subintroduced” or “associated” women, not under pretence of marriage, or to gratify any unlawful appetite, but out of spiritual affection, or greater edification, or to conduct the necessary affairs of the family. This he utterly disliked and inveighed against, as an ordinary means of temptation, or, however, that which furnished out matter for an intolerable scandal; and, accordingly, in two discourses made on purpose, decries and pleads against it, not giving it over till he had quite reformed it. Next he set upon

<sup>w</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 4. Sozom. l. viii. c. 3. Theodor. l. v. c. 27.

<sup>x</sup> Pallad. c. 5.

their covetousness, and the ill arts by which they were wont to fill their purses. He lashed their nice and intemperate palates, their slighting their own mean provisions, and haunting great men's tables, where full bellies would make way for wanton inclinations, and not fail to bring them under the suspicion of pick-thanks and parasites. The stewards of his church he took under a strict examination, and retrenched all unnecessary charges; inquired diligently into the expenses of his family; and finding a most profuse way of living had crept in in the time of his predecessor, he cut it short, ordering the surplusage for the maintenance of the infirm and needy. And when a considerable stock was yet remaining, he built some hospitals for the reception of the infirm and sick; over these he made two of his own presbyters overseers, appointing physicians, cooks, and other officers to attend them, but withal taking care that they should be unmarried persons, lest the distractions or necessities of a family should tempt them to neglect or abuse their trust. From these he proceeded to take account of the widows which the church maintained, whose conversations he inquired into, and those of them whom he found addicted to the modes and pleasures of the age, he admonished either to subdue their inclinations by fasting and prayer, and to abstain from the baths, and all nice and modish garbs, or else presently to marry, lest, by their loose way of living, religion should be exposed to censure and contempt. The laity he pressed to a more exemplary devotion; that the men whose employments would not suffer them to attend the church in the day time, would come at night, and there exercise themselves in prayer and fasting. No very welcome news to those of the clergy who had for some time indulged themselves in ease, and left off those night-offices of devotion. In this way he proceeded without fear or favour: those who complied and took up, were encouraged and commended; those who continued obstinate, he suspended, and suffered not to exercise their offices in the church, saying, it was unreasonable they should enjoy the honour and the privilege, who would not live the lives of true priests and ministers.

III. But in a sick state of affairs, he that will reform all at once is more like to exasperate the humours, than to calm or purge them. Where there is a plethory of peccant humours, nature must be relieved by easy and gentle methods, and the



cure not be attempted by one evacuation. Chrysostom's zeal transported him to too quick and violent remedies, considering the condition wherein he found things at his first coming to the episcopal throne. The clergy, thus suddenly alarmed and powerfully enraged, combined against him, and all their corrupt interests flowed into one common channel. They openly traduced and misrepresented him to the people, and where there was but any unbrage of suspicion, they improved it into a formal charge and calumny. But he despised their malice, nor did the people give any great heed to it, being infinitely delighted with the honesty of his designs, and his excellent preaching. His life was unblameable, his zeal impartial, his doctrine sound, his sermons eloquent. So that the people flocked after him in great numbers, yea, the dissenters themselves, that were of another persuasion, would attend upon his preaching, and that not without success, many of them being brought over to the catholic faith; amongst which we are told this memorable instance. A certain man of the Macedonian sect<sup>y</sup> heard him preach concerning the Holy Trinity, and was so fully convinced by him of the truth of that doctrine, as not only himself to renounce his errors, and embrace the catholic belief, but to urge his wife likewise to do the same. She was a great bigot in her way, and being encouraged by her female companions, plainly refused to comply with his persuasions; till at last he threatened he would leave her, if she would not go with him to church, and receive the holy communion with him. In this strait she advised with a maid that waited on her, what was to be done, and between them it was agreed to put a trick upon him. She went along with him, and at the time of the communion, when she received the sacramental bread, stooping down her head, as if with an intent to betake herself to prayer, she kept the bread she had taken of the bishop, and secretly took another piece, which her maid, who stood by, had brought from home; which she had no sooner put into her mouth, but it immediately became hard as a stone. The woman was strangely surprised and confounded at the accident, and her conscience being now thoroughly awakened, she goes presently to the bishop, confesses her wickedness, and shews him the stone, bearing the impression of her teeth, and being both of an odd substance, and an unusual colour; and

<sup>y</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 5.

having with abundance of tears begged pardon for her fault, she ever after persevered with her husband in the catholic communion. As an evidence of all which, my author (who lived and wrote there but a few years after) tells us, this very stone was preserved among the rarities in the archives of the church of Constantinople. But to return. It was not all the malice and artifice of the clergy, who were stung and vexed with his zealous proceedings, could lessen Chrysostom's esteem and reputation with the people, who liked him never the less for it. Indeed, so long as his reproofs and corrections went no further than the clergy, it made no great noise; but he stayed not here, but let fly at the wealthy and the honourable, whose pride and luxury, whose tyranny and oppression he reprov'd with the same freedom and impartiality that he did those of the meanest tradesmen. This touched to the quick, and soon conjured up a turbulent spirit against him, that haunted him to his dying day. Among others, he fell into contest with Entropius,<sup>2</sup> the great favourite of that time, who had gained so absolute an ascendancy upon the emperor, that though an eunuch, he was made consul, and had the honourable title of *patricius*, or father to the emperor, conferred upon him: a piece of honour next to that of the empire. But not being able to bear the weight of so much power and greatness with an even and composed mind, he let himself loose to cruelty and oppression, and abused his court-interest to extravagant designs. He bore hard upon persons of all ranks and qualities, and when, to avoid the effects of his tyranny, they fled (as was usual) to take sanctuary in the church, privileged to this purpose by the laws of all Christian emperors, he without any scruple violated the immunities of that holy place, and by force drew them thence: which, that he might do with some shadow of authority, he procured Arcadius to pass a law, taking away the benefit of the churches' asylums, and giving leave to officers to take persons thence, who had fled thither for shelter. Chrysostom disliked the man, and opposed his proceedings, though the other's interest was too big for him. But see how signally the divine justice returned upon him. For not long after, being undermined at court, and charged with affronts offered to the empress, whom he had insolently threatened to expel the court, and especially being

<sup>2</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 5. Sozom. l. viii. c. 7. Philost. l. xi. c. 4.

petitioned against by some great ones, whose powerful demands the emperor knew not well how to decline, he was sent for, and stripped of all his honours and offices; and not daring to trust the mercy of his enemies, was forced to fly for protection to that church which he had so lately despoiled of its immunities. And now his hated villanies raised a common outcry, and both the displeasure of the prince and the odium of the people conspired his ruin: and the officers had not failed, according to the tenor of his own law, to have fetched him by violence out of the church, had not Chrysostom interposed and hindered it; who, finding him prostrate at the foot of the altar, and the multitude ready to crowd into the church, stepped up into the pulpit, and in a very elegant oration represented the vanity of all worldly honour and greatness,<sup>a</sup> putting the wretch in mind how oft he had dealt plainly with him in the time of his prosperity, when flattery and outward splendour made him deaf to all wise and sober counsels, and slight the evils then foretold him, and which he now felt to his cost; he might now see the ungrateful returns he met with from his most passionate admirers; the multitude that had lately thronged to behold the magnificence of his train, that had cried him up with such loud acclamations, and whose applause he had courted with such vast expenses, were now come out with drawn swords against him; the circus and the theatres, whose sports he had so oft honoured with his presence, and maintained at his charge, and for whose sake he had so oft been angry with Chrysostom, were now become his violent persecutors: while the church, whose privileges he had openly invaded, stretched out her arms, and kindly received him into her bosom; and sent agents all about, to endeavour his rescue out of those miserable circumstances into which he had plunged himself: that if he had affronted and wronged the church, and by law destroyed its immunities, dear-bought experience had sufficiently rebuked his folly, and taught him what he had done, and himself by his practice was the first that had abolished his own law. Not that in saying all this he insulted over the man, but warned them to be cautious by his example, who was become the great instance of human calamity and change of fortune: that he was desirous to allay the sharpness of that fury wherewith they were set against him; and however it might

<sup>a</sup> Ext. vol. iii. p. 561.



seem a thankless office to protect and plead for a person that had so lewdly trampled upon the rights of the church, yet it was our duty to pardon injuries, and to "be kind to the unthankful and to the evil;" that therefore they should all join in a petition for mercy, and the emperor having sufficiently testified his readiness to compassion, they, in imitation of his example, should lay aside all offences, and practise their own prayers, "to forgive, as they would be forgiven." The discourse had its due effects upon the auditory, the people becoming more calm and gentle; nor would the bishop consent to deliver him up to the emperor's officers, till provision was made for the saving of his life. By which it is evident, with how little pretence to truth he is reported by a scornful and petulant invective to have triumphed over a man in misery,<sup>b</sup> whenas the far greatest part of the discourse breathes nothing but a noble and truly Christian tenderness and compassion. The issue was, that Eutropius was banished into Cyprus,<sup>c</sup> from whence, not long after, he was brought back, and a fresh indictment commenced against him, especially for that in the time of his consulship he had usurped the imperial ornaments; and at Pantichium, a stage town between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, was brought to his trial before Aurelian, the prætorian prefect, and other illustrious persons constituted judges for that purpose, where he was condemned of high treason, and lost his head. Zosimus says,<sup>d</sup> that having sworn at the time of their taking him out of the church, not to take away his life, they evaded it thus, that they would not kill him so long as he continued at Constantinople; so they brought him to Chalcedon, and there put him to death. His name was razed out of the *Fasti Consulares*, and the law that he had procured for the violation of church-privileges taken out of the records, that no memory of it might remain.

IV. Chrysostom had not well got over this, but the same year, viz. anno 399, he was engaged in a fresh rencounter with a man more potent than the other. Gainas, a Goth,<sup>e</sup> born in Scythia, not far from the river Ister, had fled over to the Romans, where, from a common soldier, he by degrees arrived to be general of the army: and being a man of a proud aspiring

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. et Sozom. loc. supra cit.

<sup>c</sup> Philost. l. xi. c. 6. Niceph. l. xiii. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. l. v. c. 18.

<sup>e</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 6. Sozom. l. viii. c. 4. Theodor. l. v. c. 32. Zosim. l. v. c. 18.

humour, had the empire in his eye. In order whereunto, he called in his countrymen the Goths, and preferred his kindred to the chief places of trust and command in the army. And having thus strengthened himself, committed wastes in several parts of the empire, and struck a terror into the whole court, which by many unreasonable concessions sought to oblige and gain him by fair means. At length an interview was appointed between him and the emperor: they met at Chalcedon, in the church of St. Euphemia the martyr, where having given their oaths for mutual security, they began to treat; and Gainas seeming to comply with the emperor, went over with him to Constantinople, where, finding his affairs to succeed prosperously enough, he proceeded to more insolent demands. He was by his religion, as all the Christian Goths were, an Arian; and being instigated by his own ambition, and prompted by the churchmen of his party, required of the emperor, that one of the city churches might be given to him and the men of his communion; it being unfit, he said, that so great a man as the general should be forced to go out of town to his devotions. The emperor, a man of a soft and cowardly temper, promised he would advise upon it, and do what he could to gratify him in it; who thereupon sent for Chrysostom, and acquainted him with the general's request, telling him withal, that he was an over-powerful person, and a man of dangerous designs; and therefore desired that, by granting his request, he would sweeten and allay his fury. The bishop replied, "Sir, I beseech you promise no such matter, nor command holy things to be given to dogs: for I will never yield, that those who preach and magnify God the Son should be cast out, and the holy church be delivered up to those who disparage and blaspheme him. And be not, sir, afraid of this Barbarian, but call us both before you, and while you sit silent by, I will so stop his mouth, that thenceforth he shall make no more such unreasonable demands." The emperor was glad of this expedient, and the next day sent for both of them to court; Chrysostom coming attended with all the bishops that were then in town. As soon as they were come into the presence, Gainas began to claim his promise; but this, the bishop told him, an emperor that professed religion could not grant, nor might take upon him thus to intermeddle in the things of God. The general answered, it was but fit he should be allowed a

church for his devotions. For that, said the bishop, all the church doors are open for you, and no man hinders you from praying where you please. But I, replied Gainas, am of another way, and desire but one church for me and my party to assemble in: a request which I may reasonably make, who have fought so many battles, and undergone so many dangers for the safety of the Roman empire. True, said Chrysostom, but you have had rewards far beyond your services. You are general of the army, and have the privilege to be clothed with consular ornaments. You should do well to remember what you once were, and what you are now; your former poverty, and your present plenty; how you were clad when you first passed the river Ister, and what you have now upon your back. Remember how inconsiderable are your services, compared with the largeness of your rewards, and be not ungrateful to those that have thus honoured and advanced you. He put him in mind of his oaths and engagements,<sup>f</sup> the fealty he had sworn to the empire, and the obedience he had promised to those laws which he now so insolently attempted to trample under foot; and to strike the matter dead at once, he plucked out a law of Theodosius, prohibiting heretics to hold their assemblies within the city; and then turning to the emperor, persuaded him to ratify and execute this law against all other heretics, advising him rather to lay down the empire, than impiously to betray the church of God.

V. But Gainas, though baffled, was not satisfied. For seeing himself defeated of his ends, he was no longer able to master his revenge, but broke out into open rebellion. And first he intended to seize the shops of the bankers; but they, upon intimation, had withdrawn and hid their money. Then he sent some of his Goths by night to set fire to the palace; but they, frightened with the apparition of an army of tall soldiers, fled back; and he went himself the next night along with them, and found it so. With that he left the city, and endeavoured privately to convey away great numbers of arms; which being seized and searched at the gates, brought the whole conspiracy to light. Hereupon a proclamation is issued out, denouncing Gainas a traitor, and commanding the Goths, whom he left behind him in the city, to be put to death. Seven thousand of them fled for sanctuary into the great church that stood next the palace, where the emperor commanded them

<sup>f</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 4.



to be killed, not thinking it reasonable that any place should protect such notorious rebels from the stroke of justice. But none durst attempt either to attack them there, or to pluck them thence, not knowing to what outrageous effects so hopeless and forlorn a condition might drive desperate persons. Whereupon persons were employed to untile that part of the church that was over the communion table, whence they threw down upon them pieces of wood set on fire, till they had destroyed them, to the no little profanation of that holy place in the judgment of all sober and pious Christians, as the heathen historian himself animadvert<sup>s</sup> upon this occasion: the news whereof coming to Gainas, he fled into Thrace, where, gathering his army together, he committed miserable devastations wherever he came, which struck such a terror into all persons, that the whole country fled before him, no man daring to make head against him. And in this general consternation,<sup>b</sup> when every man else declined the service, they persuaded Chrysostom to undertake the embassy, and to treat with the tyrant. He well understood the fierceness and brutishness of the man's temper, and how highly he himself had, but a few days since, exasperated and provoked him. But in so good a cause he feared no danger, and without any demur betook himself to his journey. The Barbarian hearing of his arrival, went forth a great way to meet him, and received him with great demonstrations of reverence, taking him by the right hand, according to the mode of his country, and putting it upon his eyes, and causing his sons to fall down and embrace his knees. We are told, that in this embassy Chrysostom concluded a peace between him and Arcadius, but the more ancient historians are silent in that point. It is certain, that not long after he fell upon part of the Roman forces, which gave him battle, routed his whole army, and cut off the greatest part of them, Gainas himself being slain; Zosimus and others say,<sup>i</sup> it was in an engagement with Huldes, prince of the Huns, who prosecuted him both as an ill neighbour to himself, and as an enemy to the Romans, whose head he salted and sent in triumph to Constantinople.

VI. About this time came Ammonius and the rest of the Egyptian monks to Constantinople.<sup>k</sup> They had been harassed out of their own country by Theophilus of Alexandria, and had

<sup>s</sup> Zosim. l. v. c. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Theodor. l. v. c. 33.

<sup>i</sup> Zosim. l. v. c. 22. Philost. l. xi. c. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 9. Sozom. l. viii. c. 13.

for some time settled themselves at Scythopolis in Palestine, where hearing that Theophilus still intended to proceed against them, they removed to Constantinople, to present their complaints before the emperor and the bishop, and to be ready to answer to any charge that might be exhibited against them. Being come to town, they waited immediately upon the bishop,<sup>1</sup> and kneeling before him, begged the interposal of his authority, that he would stand by a company of innocent persons, unjustly oppressed by those who designed nothing but their ruin. The bishop beholding a company of grave venerable persons, to the number of fifty, thus before him, rose up, and, with tears in his eyes, asked them, what hard fate had driven them thither. They, requesting him to take his chair, told him, that they had been wounded by the fury and malice of Theophilus, and desired his help to cure them, unless he also should refuse to mediate on their behalf: which if he should, as other bishops had done, either out of fear or favour to Theophilus, they had no other way left them but to address to the emperor, where they must be forced to publish his vile and unwarrantable doings, to the scandal of the church: if, therefore, he had any regard to the church's reputation, he should persuade him to suffer them to return, and dwell quietly in their own country, they having neither offended him, nor violated the laws of their religion. Chrysostom willingly undertook in due time to intercede for them; and, in the meantime, assigned them lodgings adjoining to the church called Anastasia, where, partly by their own hand-labour, partly by the charity of others, and especially Olympias, they were supplied with all necessary provisions and accommodations. But though Chrysostom treated them with great humanity, and permitted them to come to the public prayers, yet would he not communicate with them, till their cause had been heard and tried. Nor did they want favour and assistance at court:<sup>m</sup> for having made known their case to the empress, she entertained them with singular respect, and espying them as she passed through the street, commanded the chariot to stop, and looking out bowed to them, and desired their blessing, and that they would pray for the emperor, for herself and children, and for the happiness of the empire; assuring them she would take care that a synod should be shortly called, and that Theophilus should be summoned to it.

<sup>1</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 7.

<sup>m</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 13.

VII. By this time messengers were arrived from Alexandria, whom Theophilus had sent to manage his cause, and to make an interest for him with the governors that were to be sent into Egypt. Chrysostom sent for them to come to him, inquiring of them, whether they knew the monks that were then in town: they replied, they did, and confessed that they had had hard measure; but prayed, that whatever kindness else he might shew them, he would not, out of respect to Theophilus, admit them to communion. Hereupon he wrote in their behalf to Theophilus, that he would recall the men, and receive them into favour. This Theophilus refused; and sent back messengers furnished with libels of accusation against them, and who might insinuate at court ill suspicions of them. The monks perceived now all hopes of reconciliation desperate; and therefore taking some persons of quality along with them, they went to the bishop, and having with an anathema renounced the Origenian heresy, delivered into his hands a libel, containing an account of Theophilus's tyrannical proceedings, with other articles of impeachment which they gave in against him. Chrysostom, both by himself and other bishops, dissuaded them from this way, advising them to suppress their charge, and wrote a second time to Theophilus, to let him know what the monks had done, desiring him to write back what he thought best to be done in this matter; for that he could not prevail with the monks to lay down their charge, or keep them from exhibiting their complaints at court. The man was nettled to the quick; and though he made a shift to stifle the height of his resentment, could not forbear to give a taste of it in this tart letter, which he sent back to Chrysostom. "I suppose you are not ignorant of the canons of the Nicene council, which provide, that no bishop shall judge causes out of his own jurisdiction. If you know not this, then learn it; and cease to receive libels against me. For if I must be judged, it is much fitter it should be done by bishops in Egypt, than by them who are seventy-five days journey distant from us." Chrysostom received the letter, and laid it by, and persuaded both parties to agree; who yet, as it commonly happens in such cases, went both of them away dissatisfied and discontented. All which passages relating to these Origenist monks, were transacted anno 400, and the following year; what further ensued upon it, shall be related in its due time and place.



## SECTION III.

HIS ACTS FROM THE TRIAL OF ANTONINUS TILL THE COMBINATION MADE  
AGAINST HIM BY ANTIOCHUS AND OTHERS.

The impeachment of Antoninus in a convention of bishops at Constantinople. The articles exhibited against him. Chrysostom's endeavour to compose the business. Antonine's denial of the charge. Chrysostom's resolution to go and judge the cause at Ephesus, countermanded by an order from court. Commissioners sent into Asia to examine matters. The foul jugglings of Eusebius, the plaintiff and prosecutor. The death of Antonine. Chrysostom desired by the clergy of Ephesus to come thither, and settle their affairs. His journey to Ephesus, and the synod holden there. The examination of the case of Antonine, and others concerned with him. The synodal determination of this matter. Heraclides ordained by Chrysostom to the see of Ephesus. Gerontius of Nicomedia deposed, and why. What number of bishops deposed by Chrysostom in this visitation. The insolence of the Arians at Constantinople. Chrysostom's introducing antiphonal hymns, and solemn processions in opposition to them. The tumult raised by the Arians. Their meetings prohibited by proclamation. Chrysostom's endeavour to reduce the Goths to the catholic faith. His care to plant the Gospel in Scythia, and to rout Paganism in Phœnicia.

WHILE Chrysostom was thus taken up, an accident happened, that engaged him in a journey as far as Ephesus, the occasion whereof must be fetched from the foregoing year. Anno 399, about the time of Gainas's insurrection at Constantinople, several Asian bishops came to town,<sup>n</sup> where they met with Theotimus of Scythia, Ammon of Thrace, and Arabianus of Galatia; in all to the number of twenty-two. They frequently convened about several important affairs of the church; when Eusebius bishop of Valentinople started up, and delivered a libel of accusation superscribed to Chrysostom and the synod, against Antoninus bishop of Ephesus; the charge consisting of seven articles. I. That he had melted down the church-plate, and put out the money in his son's name. II. That he had taken away a piece of marble from the door of the *baptisterium*, and had placed it in his own bath. III. That he had made use of some columns, that had lain several years for the use of the church, and had set them up in his own dining-room. IV. That a youth whom he kept had killed a man; and yet he retained him in his service, as if he had been blameless and innocent. V. That he had sold the farms which Basilina, the emperor Julian's mother, had

<sup>n</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 13.

bestowed upon that church, and kept the money to himself. VI. That after he had put away his wife, he lived with her again, and had children by her. VII. That it had been his rule and custom to sell the ordination of bishops at a set rate, as men sell their lands. And that both he that ordained, and they who had been thus ordained, were present; and that he was ready to make proof of all the articles he had given in. Chrysostom, unwilling the matter should be blown abroad, told Eusebius, that such hot and hasty charges very often wanted sufficient proof, and therefore he entreated him to desist; and what real grievances there were, they would take care to remove them. But the man was not so to be taken off; he stormed the more against the bishop of Ephesus, and resolved to pursue his charge. Whereupon Chrysostom besought Paul bishop of Heraclia, who seemed to take Antoninus's part, to endeavour to make them friends. And so rising up, the assembly went to church; it being the time of the public devotions. Chrysostom having blessed the people, sat down with the other bishops, when Eusebius coming in, delivered him another libel of the same charge before the whole congregation; conjuring him, by all that was dear and sacred, and by the life and safety of the prince, that he would proceed in it; which he urged with that extreme vehemency, that the people thought he had been importuning the bishop to intercede with the emperor for his life. Chrysostom, to prevent any further disturbance, took the libel; and the lessons being read, he was not willing in such a hurry and disturbance of thoughts to approach the holy mysteries, and therefore desired Pansophius bishop of Pisidia to finish the remainder of the service, while he and the rest of the bishops went out.

II. The people were now dismissed, and Chrysostom and the rest taking their places in the baptistery, called for Eusebius, and renewed to him his former motion; adding, that if he did know things whereof he might accuse him, (for as they would not reject him, if he desired it, so neither would they force him to it, if he had not a mind to it,) he should consider what was most fit to be done, before the accusation was read; for after it was once published, and spread abroad, and entered upon the register, he could not then recede or be discharged. But he persisting in his resolution, the libel was read

in every article : which done, the senior bishops moved the president, that though all the articles were bad enough, yet that, for the gaining of time, they might insist only upon the most capital, the charge of simony ; and if that was made good, there would be little reason to dispute the other. This was agreed to, so the trial began ; and Chrysostom asked Antoninus, what he could say for himself. He stoutly denied the charge ; and the bishops that were challenged so to have procured their consecration being likewise interrogated, denied the fact. Eight hours were spent in canvassing the case *pro* and *con*, when at last the witnesses were called for, who were pretended to have been present when the money was paid. But the most material evidences were not there. Chrysostom therefore finding it would be a difficult matter to determine it at this distance, resolved upon a journey thither, that he might with more advantage examine things upon the place. Antoninus was startled at this : he knew Chrysostom to be a man of resolution, and of a most equal and unbiassed temper ; and had no other way to prevent it, but by addressing himself to a great man at court, whose estate in Asia he managed for him, beseeching him to procure Chrysostom's journey to be stopped, engaging that the witnesses should be brought to town. Immediately came an order from court, to let Chrysostom know, that in this distracted state of affairs his presence could not well be spared ; and that it was needless to take so long a journey, when witnesses might be easily brought to town. Glad was Antoninus he had gained this point ; knowing of what huge importance to his affairs the least delay would be, as furnishing him with an opportunity to tamper with the witnesses, whom he doubted not, either by his power or interest, to take off. This Chrysostom was aware of, and therefore presently summoning a synod, they ordered three of their number to go out of hand into Asia, to take the examination of witnesses. Syncretus metropolitan of Trajanople, Hesychius bishop of Parium, and Palladius of Helenople, were the persons pitched on for this errand ; but Hesychius, secretly favouring Antoninus, excused himself upon pretence of sickness. Hypæpæ, a city of Asia, was the place appointed for the commissioners' sitting, as being nearest to those persons that were to appear ; and a power was given them, that whosoever upon summons should not appear within two months, should stand



excommunicate. The commissioners being despatched, went to Smyrna, and issued out their warrants to signify their arrival; citing all persons concerned of either party to appear at the place appointed. But they found fraud and foul dealing on all hands: for the prosecutors had been bribed off, and engaged by oaths not to prosecute; and hoped to weary out the judges by delaying the evidence, pretending they were not presently to be found. The commissioners called for Eusebius, and asked him how long it would be before his witnesses were ready, and they would stay for them. He, supposing they would not be able long to endure the extreme heat of the season, answered, he would produce them within forty days, or be content to undergo the penalty inflicted by the canons. So they waited, while he, pretending to go seek his witnesses, fled directly to Constantinople, and there concealed himself; and not appearing at the time prefixed, the commissioners wrote to the bishops of Asia, and denounced him excommunicate: after which they stayed thirty days longer, and none appearing, they returned back to Constantinople; where they met Eusebius, whom when they challenged with his perfidious dealings, he pretended indisposition and want of health, but promised that he would still produce his witnesses.

III. The controversy was thus bandied up and down, when Antoninus, the subject of the quarrel, departed this life, after whose death the church of Ephesus was in a more deplorable case than before; whereof the clergy of that church, and the neighbouring bishops, certified Chrysostom, and besought him to lay to his helping hand, which they did by this address. "Forasmuch as heretofore we have been governed disorderly, and contrary to the rules and canons made by the ancient fathers, we beseech your reverence, that you would come down hither, and settle this so long afflicted and distracted church; the Arians infesting us on the one side, and the covetousness and ambition of some of our own no less disturbing us on the other. For there are a great many that like ravenous wolves lie at catch, and greedily endeavour by bribes to invade and usurp this see." This letter found Chrysostom in no good state of health; and the winter-season (for such it now was, it being the latter end of the year 399) rendered him yet less fit for such a journey. But resolving to make all private and personal considerations

stoop to the public interest, he took shipping, and after a very dangerous passage came to Apamia; where Palladius, Cyrinus, and Paulus, whom he had chosen for the companions of his journey, waited his arrival. Hence they went on foot to Ephesus, whither he sent for the bishops of Lydia, Caria, and the proconsular Asia; though there little needed any formal summons, several flocking thither merely to enjoy the company and conversation of this great man. There met to the number of seventy bishops, with whom he entered into consultation about the state of those churches. To this synod came Eusebius of Valentinople, the late fierce accuser of Antoninus, humbly petitioning, that he might be restored to communion. Many of the synod were against it, pleading, that he had been thrown out for calumny and detraction. But he pressed his suit, and told them, that forasmuch as the cause had been under debate for almost two years, and that the delay of the witnesses had been the only reason that had hindered it from coming to a final issue, he besought them now to examine the witnesses, who were ready to appear. And although Antoninus, who had taken the bribes, was dead, yet the persons that had given them, and been ordained upon it, were still alive. The synod agreed to take the business under consideration, and the registers were produced, and the whole proceedings read before them. Then the witnesses were brought in, and the persons charged with simony cited, who at first denied it; till the witnesses (who were not only laymen and women, but presbyters, their own friends and confidants) deposing as to time and place, and the sums paid, and the very species of the money, their consciences would suffer them to stand out no longer; they confessed they had given such sums, but pleaded, that they took it to be the custom so to do, and that they must do it to be free from the proceedings of the courts; that if it might be granted, they desired to be continued in the service of the church; if not, that they might at least have their money returned them, some of them having parted with the money and furniture that belonged to their wives and family. As to their being discharged in court, Chrysostom undertook it, promising the synod he would intercede with the emperor; whereupon the council ordered that Antoninus's heirs should make restitution: and as for themselves, they should have liberty to communicate within the chancel, but

should be, and be looked upon only as persons that had once been bishops. They being deposed, others, who were men of parts and integrity, were planted in their rooms; who yet, about four years after, when Chrysostom's affairs went down the wind, were ejected, and the former brought in again. In the see of Ephesus they placed Heraclides, by birth a Cypriot, who had been heretofore a monk at mount Nitria in Egypt, and Chrysostom's archdeacon at Constantinople ever since he came thither: a man of approved learning, and a most strict life; but who upon the turn of affairs was ejected and imprisoned, and a servile eunuch belonging to Victor the tribune, a man of bad principles and worse morals, being of a most debauched dissolute life, thrust into his room. He deposed likewise Gerontius bishop of Nicomedia,<sup>o</sup> who had strangely bewitched the affections of that people. This Gerontius had some time been deacon under St. Ambrose at Milan, where studying, or pretending to study, the art of magic, upon a frivolous story he told of his encounter with an *empusa*, or *spectrum*, he was confined by St. Ambrose till he had given satisfaction. He, slighting the bishop, left Milan, and went to Constantinople; and being a man of parts, witty, eloquent, and admirably skilled in physick, quickly wrought himself so far in with some at court, that he was preferred bishop of Nicomedia. St. Ambrose wrote to Nectarius bishop of Constantinople about the man, but he could do nothing in it, the people not enduring any other; nor could any thing be effected in it, till Chrysostom, being in these parts, deposed him, and ordained Pansophius, who had been tutor to the empress, a meek and pious man, bishop of that place. But the people were horribly discontented at it, even to rage and madness: they did nothing but recount his praises, and the benefits they had received by him; and, as men are wont to do in some dreadful calamity, ran up and down the streets both there and at Constantinople, singing hymns and supplications that they might have him for their bishop. The synod being dissolved, Chrysostom left these parts, having deposed in all six bishops, which the malice of his enemies afterwards improved to sixteen; and though Sozomen says there were thirteen, yet it is much more reasonable to believe Palladius, who was present at the whole transaction from first to last, and appeals to the public records for the truth of it.

<sup>o</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 6.



IV. Chrysostom, at his return to Constantinople, was received with great demonstrations of rejoicing by the people, which he acknowledged the next day in an oration to them ;<sup>p</sup> wherein he commends their constancy and perseverance, and the quick eye they had kept upon the attempts of heretics during his absence. And indeed the Arians, about this time, and for some years before, were grown to a strange height of insolence. They kept their conventicles out of town,<sup>q</sup> but were wont upon Saturdays and Sundays, which were constant times for the public assemblies, to come within the city, and dividing themselves into companies, walked about the public porticos, singing, as they went along, hymns composed in defence of their own principles, one part responding to the other ; and not content to do this, they added several clauses, petulantly reflecting upon those that maintained the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ; thus they did the greatest part of the night, and early the next morning they marched through the heart of the city, singing their antiphonal hymns, and so went out to their own meeting-house. Chrysostom was very sensible of the affront given to the catholic faith and the established religion, and feared withal, lest the minds of weak and undiscerning people might by these specious artifices be drawn over to them. He resolved therefore to countermine them in their own way, and to that end composed certain hymns containing the catholic doctrine, which he delivered to his people to be sung the same night. And that the business might be managed with the greater pomp and solemnity, crosses of silver were made at the empress's charge, and lighted torches borne before them ; and Briso, the empress's own eunuch, as precursor, walked before the company : a good design, but it had a bad effect. For the Arians, finding themselves thus outdone both in number and splendour, fell upon the Catholics in their procession, in which conflict some were slain on both sides, and Briso himself dangerously wounded in the forehead. To prevent which disorders, Arcadius forbade the Arians to assemble in this manner, and left the Catholics in the sole possession of this way of antiphonal procession, a custom which continued many years after. The Arians had been restrained herein some years before, as appears by a law of Arcadius,<sup>r</sup> made anno 396, to seize upon

<sup>p</sup> Ext. Lat. in Append. vol. ii. p. 43. ed. Morell.

<sup>q</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 8. Sozom. l. viii. c. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Ext. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. v. l. 30.

all places of religious assemblies held by all sorts of heretics, and to adjudge them to the exchequer; that none of their clergy should inhabit within the city, nor any of themselves assemble either by night or day to make their public litanies or supplications; and this under the penalty of an hundred pounds of gold to be inflicted upon the city-provost, if he permitted it. But this law being general, the Arians, it seems, reckoned not themselves so particularly concerned in it, but that they soon after revived their custom, till it was now put down by a particular prohibition.

V. Nor did Chrysostom's pious care herein stop here. He found the nation of the Goths miserably overrun with Arianism,\* which he endeavoured to cure by this method. He ordained some of that country readers, deacons, and presbyters, and assigned them a church within the city, by whose industry he reclaimed many to the catholic church. And that his design might succeed better, he himself went often and preached there, making use of an interpreter to convey his discourse to the people, and prevailed with the most eloquent preachers about the town to do the like. And understanding that the Scythian Nomadæ that dwelt beyond the Ister were greatly disposed to entertain the gospel, but were destitute of any to preach it to them, he procured persons to undertake that work, and wrote to the bishops that bordered upon those parts to assist in it, and furnish out fit persons, who might carry on the conversion of those countries. It grieved him not a little, when he was told, that even in Phœnicia, a country that lay within the heart of the empire, pagan idolatry was still the paramount religion. For the reformation whereof he engaged a company of zealous monks, whom he sent into those parts; and that they might not go without the royal authority, he procured an edict from the emperor, empowering them to pull down and destroy all the pagan temples. And because it was a matter of charge as well as difficulty, he did not think fit to burden the exchequer with it, but persuaded several rich and pious matrons to furnish out the expenses at their own charge. But though for the present things succeeded well, yet not long after the Gentiles made head against them, defended their temples, and slew many of the monks, and wounded more. The exact time of his setting on foot this ex-

\* Theodor. l. v. c. 33. et ap. Phot. Cod. CCLXXIII.

cellent design, I cannot precisely fix; though whether it was done anno 400, or immediately upon his advancement to the see of Constantinople, is not very material to inquire.

## SECTION IV.

HIS ACTS FROM THE COMBINATION OF ANTIOCHUS, SEVERIAN, ETC.  
TILL HIS BEING DEPOSED BY THEOPHILUS.

Antiochus and Severianus, who. Chrysostom's great kindness to, and confidence in Severianus. Quarrels between Severianus and Serapio, Chrysostom's archdeacon. The case heard in a synod. Contests between Chrysostom and Severianus upon this account. Severianus dismissed Constantinople. Reconciled to Chrysostom by the means of the empress. Severianus, Antiochus, Acacius of Berœa, and Isaac, combine against Chrysostom. Their consult how to manage their plot. Their engaging Theophilus of Alexandria in the confederacy. The suitableness of circumstances to bring him in. Theophilus summoned to Constantinople. The empress Eudoxia's displeasure against Chrysostom, whence. The temper of that princess. Theophilus's arrival. His shunning all converse with Chrysostom. His first actings, and procuring fit instruments for the prosecution of his designs. The synod at the Oak holden by Theophilus. The persons chiefly active in that synod. A charge of twenty-nine articles given in against Chrysostom. A convention of Chrysostom with the bishops of his party. His excellent discourse to them. A summons to him to appear at the synod. The several answers returned by him and his bishops to that summons. Another summons. Chrysostom's answer. Which of the articles insisted on by the synod. Seventeen additional articles delivered in. The most material of them represented. Judgment demanded and passed against Chrysostom. An account of it sent the emperor, who ratifies the sentence. Theophilus reconciled to the Egyptian monks. An account of the death and burial of Dioscorus and Ammonius. Theophilus's conversing with Origen's works, notwithstanding his clamours against them.

HITHERTO the good man had gone on without any considerable opposition. But now the storm began to gather, which at last poured down upon him. It happened that two Syrian bishops resided for some time at Constantinople,<sup>t</sup> Antiochus bishop of Ptolemais in Phœnicia, and Severianus of Gabala, a port-town in Cœlosyria, not far from Laodicea, both of them learned and eloquent men. Antiochus had a very nimble and voluble tongue, and preached with singular applause in the city, and had made no little advantage by it to himself. Encouraged by his example came Severianus, who, though he wanted the other's soft and nimble pronunciation, (for his Syriac dialect added a kind of

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 11. Sozom. l. viii. c. 10.



unpleasing harshness to his speech,) yet he made it up in the gravity of his sentences, and his profound exposition of scripture. He was welcome to Chrysostom, (whom he courted even to flattery,) and, by the constancy and accuracy of his sermons, recommended himself to all the grandees about court and city, and to the emperor himself; and taking the opportunity of Chrysostom's absence, when he was at Ephesus, endeavoured much more to strengthen and secure his interest, though Chrysostom had admitted him to that degree of friendship, as to intrust him with the care and inspection of his church during his absence, which the other was wise enough to improve to his own advantage. Serapio, deacon of the church at Constantinople, watched all his motions, and failed not to advertise Chrysostom of every passage; but being a man proud and passionate, and bearing himself high upon the bishop's favour, he helped to bring his enemies faster upon him, as it happened in this very case. For not long after Chrysostom's return,<sup>u</sup> Severian accidentally passing by, Serapio sat still, and refused to give him the respect usually paid to bishops, intending it as a public affront to him. Severian resented it accordingly, and without further deliberation took upon him to depose him from his deaconship, and expel him out of the church; and in his passion said, "If Serapio die a Christian, then Christ never became man." Of this Serapio immediately complained to Chrysostom, who thereupon convened a meeting of his bishops and clergy; where the case was brought under examination. As to the irreverence, Serapio excused himself, protesting he did not see Severian, and produced witnesses to attest it: whereupon he was acquitted by the assembly, who also interceded with Severian for a reconciliation; and Chrysostom, that he might shew how ready he was to give any reasonable satisfaction, suspended Serapio from his office for the space of a week. As for the words spoken by Severian, which Serapio proved before the assembly, some of his friends pleaded for him, that his enemies mangled his words, and suppressing the former part, charged him with asserting, that Christ was never made man: but Chrysostom answered, that taking the whole together, it was bad enough; for though Serapio should or should not die a Christian, yet it followed not thence that Christ was not made man. After all, the meeting came to

<sup>u</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 10. Socrat. l. vi. c. 11. et Append. ad l. vi.

no conclusion ; Severian was obstinate, and would comply with nothing, unless Serapio were not only put from his office, but excluded all communion. Whereupon Chrysostom rose up in some heat, and bade the bishops judge the cause, for that for his part he would meddle no further in it. But with him they all rose up, and went away, and so the consistory broke up, with some reflection upon Severian, for his unreasonable obstinacy and perverseness. Soon after Chrysostom advised him to be gone home, sending him this message, that it was not fit that he should so notoriously neglect his charge, and that the church committed to him should for so long a time be destitute of the care and presence of its bishop ; that therefore he should immediately return thither, and improve the talents and abilities God had given him in his own sphere and station : with which smart admonition he left Constantinople. The empress Eudoxia was angry at what was done, and sent for Severian, who was retired to Chalcedon, to come back ; but Chrysostom refused any converse with him, till the empress, being resolved to make peace, took up the young prince Theodosius, Chrysostom's god-son, and carrying him in her arms into the church, laid him down at the bishop's feet, and for his sake besought him to be friends with Severian, which at last she obtained. Chrysostom hereupon made an oration to the people, to dispose their minds towards Severian ;<sup>w</sup> and the next day Severian himself made another in commendation of peace,<sup>x</sup> and particularly that reconciliation that was now made between them.

II. But whatever Severian might do to serve a present interest, it is plain his friendship was but pretended. For soon after he entered into a combination with Antiöchus<sup>y</sup> and Isaac, a turbulent and ill-natured Archimandrite, against Chrysostom. With them joined Acacius, bishop of Berœa, on no other provocation, than that coming to Constantinople, and wanting a convenient lodging, he was angry that Chrysostom had slighted him, and not given him entertainment, and he could not forbear to express his resentment to some of Chrysostom's own clergy, telling them, in language proper enough to the occasion, " I will season his pot for him." These four laid their heads together how to manage their designs against him. And first they sent

<sup>w</sup> Ext. Lat. in Append. vol. ii. p. 47. ed. Morell.

<sup>x</sup> Ext. Lat. *ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>y</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 6.

spies to Antioch, to hunt after the miscarriages of his younger days; but finding nothing there, upon the strictest scrutiny they could make, they bethought themselves of Theophilus, at Alexandria, who they knew bore no good will to Chrysostom, and who had a head fitted to contrive and carry on such designs. To him they write about it, who received the message with both hands, as an opportunity he had long wished for of venting his spleen against him, increased of late by the favour Chrysostom had shewed to the monks whom he had driven out of Egypt, and whom it was reported Chrysostom had not only been otherwise very kind to, but that he had admitted them to communion. And, as if there had been a conspiracy of accidents as well as persons, his affairs at this time seemed to lie fair for such a purpose: for having synodically condemned the Origenian heresy, (as they then called it,) and procured Epiphanius to do the like in a council in Cyprus, he had engaged that good old man to carry the decrees to Constantinople, and to solicit Chrysostom to enter into this quarrel, and to prosecute the Egyptian monks, (whom they unjustly charged with Origenism,) but with what success, has been related in its proper place. Chrysostom had in vain mediated with Theophilus on their behalf; whereupon they had impeached him, and he recriminated upon them, and had sent his legates to Constantinople to manage his cause against them. The Origenian monks, growing weary of delays, petitioned the empress, that the libels which the adverse party had preferred against them to the provost of the city might be examined; that Theophilus might be summoned, and undergo his trial; and that his messengers might either prove their charge, or suffer the penalties in that case provided against false accusers. This request was thought reasonable, and in pursuance of it Elaphius, a great officer at court, was despatched with orders to Alexandria to bring up Theophilus. The judges, in the mean time, proceeded in the cause of his legates, who had accused the monks; and the legates being found guilty of calumny and subornation, and seeing themselves exposed to the present lash of the laws, threw the whole blame upon Theophilus, as the sole author and contriver of it, and were thereupon cast into prison, where some of them died, others, after his arrival, were by his interest banished into Preconessus.

III. While these things were transacting, Chrysostom began



to lose ground at court, especially with the empress Eudoxia,<sup>a</sup> who, in a manner, entirely swayed Arcadius: daughter she was to Bauto, who was a Frank by birth, and general under Gratian in the West, and consul together with Arcadius, anno 385: she inherited the spirit of her country, having (as historians particularly note) a great deal of βαρβαρικὸν θρᾶσος in her temper; haughty, fierce, cruel, and revengeful; a woman of a quite different make from the soft and easy temper of her husband; the sad effects whereof fell heavy upon our good bishop. By some she is said to have taken offence at his over-free reproving her unjust dispossessing the widow Callitrope of her vineyard,<sup>a</sup> which yet he left not off till she had restored it. By others,<sup>b</sup> that resenting a plot which he supposed she had laid with Epiphanius against him, he soon after made a very sharp invective against women, and, if it be true what some add, dropped some tart reflections upon Jezebel, and the priests whom she fed at her table. There were those at church that took notes, which they carried to the empress, who presently applied them to herself, and complained to the emperor of the public affront offered to her. Besides, the main of the discourse being general, most of the great ladies about the town reckoned themselves concerned in it. They had a pique against him before, for the severe and impartial reproofs which he was wont upon all occasions to scatter amongst them. For it was his custom,<sup>c</sup> both publicly and in his private visits from house to house, smartly to chide the more aged widows and matrons for their light airy dresses, as an unseemly and meretricious garb, and a vain attempt to make themselves seem young again. Nor were Severian and his party backward to blow up the coals, knowing how powerfully these ladies would draw on their husbands. An easy way was by this means made for the reception of Theophilus, who now stood fair to appear more like a judge than a criminal. He was at this time upon his journey, and though the emperor's command at first (which it is probable he might afterwards alter) was, that he should come alone,<sup>d</sup> yet did he all the way, both by speeches and messages, solicit as many bishops as he could to go with him to Constantinople, designing, from the very

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Zosim. l. v. c. 23.

<sup>a</sup> Niceph. l. xiii. c. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 15. vid. Sozom. l. viii. c. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Chrys. Epist. ad Innoc. s. l. vol. iii. p. 516.

first, to pack a synod, and depose Chrysostom. Arriving at the city, (whither, after many delays, he came, anno 403,) he went on shore,<sup>e</sup> the greatest part of his retinue being made up of mariners, who were come with the corn-fleet from Alexandria, who came to meet him, and welcomed his arrival with joyful shouts and acclamations. Landing, he went not, as the custom was, into the church, to pay his devotions to God, nor to wait upon the bishop; and though Chrysostom had prepared lodgings for him and his company in the bishop's palace, and did more than once and again invite him thither, as he had done those that arrived before him, yet he refused it, and passing by the very church-door, went into the suburbs, and had his apartment in one of the emperor's houses, called Placidiana, prepared, it seems, on purpose for him.

IV. Here he remained three weeks,<sup>f</sup> in all which time he vouchsafed not so much as once to honour Chrysostom with any act of common civility, much less Christian communion. His whole time he spent in forming his design, and making parties, which he did, by accommodating himself to men's different humours and interests: some he bribed by liberal presents; others, that were more inclined to epicurism, he treated at a plentiful table; others he courted by flatteries and commendations; others he tempted with hopes of higher preferments. And without taking any notice of Chrysostom, (as if the see had been actually void,) he sent for his archdeacon, and by him endeavoured to bring over the clergy to him; so that the city churches began to be empty, and the clergy were brought daily to him, and persuaded to accuse their bishop, and exhibit libels against him. Two, more especially, he met with, fit instruments for his purpose, who had been turned out by Chrysostom for the most enormous offences, the one for murder, the other for adultery; these he instructed how to bring in their charge, promising them (and he was as good as his word) that he would in due time restore them to their station in the ministry. All this while Chrysostom was at a stand what to do; he treated him with mild and obliging messages, and desired to know what he meant by these turbulent courses, but in vain. On the other hand, he was mightily importuned by Theophilus's accusers, to

<sup>e</sup> Pallad. c. 8. Socrat. l. vi. c. 15. Sozom. l. viii. c. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Pallad. c. 8. et Chrysost. ad Innoc. s. l. vol. iii. p. 516.

proceed judicially against him ; the emperor himself sending for him, and commanding him to go to Theophilus, and there to examine the causes, and hear the most heavy crimes that were charged upon him : but he remembered the canons, which Theophilus's letters had also put him in mind of, that ecclesiastical matters were to be judged within their own provinces, and were not to be drawn before a foreign judicature, and was therefore unwilling to meddle in it.

V. Theophilus had now ripened his design, and having got a competent number of bishops about him, forty-five in all, (though others say but thirty-six,) whereof twenty-nine came out of Egypt, the rest from other places, and among them especially those Asian bishops whom Chrysostom had deposed, they resolved to enter immediately upon a synodal convention. The place appointed for the synod was over the water at Chalcedon,<sup>§</sup> a country house (famous for a remarkable oak, thence it is called the synod *ad Quercum*) belonging to Rufinus, a man of consular dignity, who had built here a noble palace, a large church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, (thence styled Apostoleum,) and a monastery adjoining, the monks whereof were to attend the service of the church. Here they met, the chief of them being Theophilus, Acacius of Berœa, Antiochus of Ptolemais, Severianus of Gabala, and Cyrinus of Chalcedon, all professed enemies to Chrysostom. The principal person that managed the charge against Chrysostom was John, who had sometime been his deacon, besides whom there came in as witnesses, Arsacius, archpresbyter ; Atticus, Elpidius, Acacius, presbyters ; Eudemon, and Onesimus. The synod being opened, the charge against Chrysostom was exhibited and read, consisting of no less than twenty-nine articles, as they are summed up by Photius ; whereby the reader will see what an equal mixture of malice and folly there was in this accusation. I. That he had disgraced and ejected the forementioned John, for no other reason than because he had beaten his own servant Eulalius. II. That by his command, one John, a monk, had been beaten, and hurried away, and haled, treated like a madman, being loaded with irons. III. That he had sold a great part of the rich furniture and ornaments belonging to the church. IV. That he had made

<sup>§</sup> Socrat. Sozom. Pallad. locis supra citat. Phot. Cod. LIX. ext. etiam Acta Synod. in jure Græc. Rom. vol. i. l. ix. p. 554.



money of some pieces of marble, which his predecessor Nectarius had provided to beautify the church of St. Anastasia. V. That he spoke contemptibly of the clergy, calling them vile, corrupt, trifling persons, and good for nothing but themselves. VI. That he had called St. Epiphanius a doting man, and a little fiend. VII. That he had devised mischief against Severian, and had set up the *decani*, or sextons, against him. VIII. That he had written a whole book stuffed with nothing but falsehoods and calumnies against the clergy. IX. That calling a convention of his whole clergy, he had indicted three of his deacons, Acacius, Edaphius, and John, and had charged them with stealing the pall that he used to wear about his shoulders, insinuating as if they had taken it to some unlawful use. X. That he had ordained one Antonius, bishop, who yet stood convict of violating the tombs and monuments of the dead. XI. That in a mutiny of the soldiers he had discovered and betrayed count John. XII. That he was not wont to make his prayers either as he went to, nor at his entrance into the church. XIII. That he ordained deacons and presbyters in other places, and not within the chancel. XIV. That he made four several bishops at one ordination. XV. That he entertained women, and conversed with them alone, all others being shut out of the room. XVI. That, by the hand of Theodulus, he had sold the patrimony which Thecla had left to the church. XVII. That the revenues of the church were disposed of, and no man knew which way they went. XVIII. That he had ordained Serapion presbyter, though at that time under a charge and accusation. XIX. That he had taken persons, whom all the rest of the world admitted to communion, and at his arbitrary pleasure had thrown them into prison; and when they died there, had neglected them, and not taken so much care as that their bodies should be interred. XX. That he had calumniated the most holy bishop Acacius, without so much as admitting him to converse, or giving a reason for it. XXI. That he committed Porphyrius a presbyter to Eutropius, to be banished. XXII. That he had likewise delivered up Verenius, a presbyter, with all imaginable contempt and disgrace. XXIII. That the bath is prepared for him alone; and after he has done, Serapion causes the bath to be shut up, so that none else may go in. XXIV. That he has ordained several without witnesses or testimonials. XXV. That

he uses to eat and dine alone, and, after the fashion of the Cyclops, leads a luxurious and intemperate life. XXVI. That he himself is both accuser, witness, and judge, as is evident in what they say he did in the case of Martyrinus the archdeacon, and of Prohæresius bishop of Lycia. XXVII. That he struck Mamnon with his fist in the church of the Apostles, so that blood gushed out of his mouth, and yet went on to consecrate the holy eucharist. XXVIII. That he was wont to be dressed and undressed upon the bishop's throne, and there used to eat the little cake, (this was to prevent spitting after the reception of the sacrament.) XXIX. That it was his custom to give money to new-ordained bishops, to oblige them by hard usage to oppress the clergy. Some other things there were which they commonly charged him with,<sup>b</sup> as that he had administered the sacrament after meals, and that he had slept with women by his side, but whether these were insisted on in the council does not appear. The articles being read, they resolved next that Chrysostom should be cited to answer to his charge, whose carriage in this affair we come next to inquire into.

VI. Chrysostom, foreseeing how things were like to go, had gathered about him all the bishops of his party that were about the town,<sup>i</sup> forty in all, who were assembled in the great dining-room of his palace, to whom he thus addressed himself: "Brethren, be earnest in prayer; and since you love our Lord Jesus, let none of you for my sake desert his charge: for, as it was in St. Paul's case, 'I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.' Many hardships I see I must undergo, and then quit this troublesome life. For I know the subtlety of Satan, who cannot endure to be daily tormented with my preaching. Hereby you will find mercy yourselves at the hands of God, only be mindful of me in your prayers." The whole company was troubled at his discourse; some burst into tears, others, who were not able to confine their passion within tears and silence, humbly kissed him, and went out to give a freer vent to their sorrow. The assembly was much disturbed; till calling them to their places, "Brethren, (said he,) sit down, and cease to weep, lest you add more affliction to my grief: 'For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;'- (this he said upon occasion of the rumour then spread

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Chrys. Epist. cxxv. vol. iii. p. 667, etc. et Serm. ante iret in Exil. ibid. p. 421.

<sup>i</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 8.

abroad, that for his obstinacy and inflexibility he was to lose his head;) if your memories serve you, call to mind how I always told you, that this life is a way, wherein both joys and sorrow march away with a quick pace. The scene of things before our eyes is like a fair, where we buy, and sell, and sometimes recreate and divert ourselves. Are we better than the patriarchs? Do we excel the prophets, and apostles, that we should live here for ever?" And when one of the company with some passion told him, that they could not but bewail their sad condition, and the desolation that attended them, who should be left like pupils and orphans, the church a widow, the laws trodden down, and all things exposed to the pride and covetousness of ungodly men, and to the ambition of such as would boldly invade the government of the church, that the poor would want their guardian, and the catholic doctrine be deserted; the good bishop, striking more than once with the point of his right fore-finger upon the palm of his left hand, (as he was wont to do, when intent upon any serious matter,) replied, "It is enough, brother, pursue the argument no further; however, as I requested, desert not your churches. And for the doctrine of Christ, it began not with me, nor shall it die with me. Did not Moses die? and did not Joshua succeed him? Did not Samuel die? and was not David anointed in his stead? Jeremy departed this life, and did he not leave Baruch behind him? Elias was taken up into heaven, and did not the prophetic spirit rest on Elisha? Paul was beheaded, and left he not Timothy, Titus, Apollo, and many more behind him?" Eulysius, bishop of Apamea, answered, But if we keep our churches, we shall be compelled to communicate and subscribe: to which he replied, communicate you may, that you make not a schism in the church, but subscribe not the decrees; for I am not conscious to myself of having done any thing, for which I deserve to be deposed, or turned out.

VII. In the midst of these discourses, word was brought that there were messengers at the door from Theophilus and the synod: they were Dioscorus and Paulus, two young men, lately made bishops in Libya, who being brought in, and upon inquiry known to be bishops, Chrysostom entreated them to sit down, and declare what errand they came upon. They told him, they had only a brief citation, which they desired might be read. It was directed to Chrysostom, without so much as giving him the



title of bishop, and being delivered to Theophilus's clerk, was read in this form: "The holy synod assembled at the Oak to John. We have received libels of accusation against you, charging you with innumerable crimes. Make haste, therefore, to come hither, and bring along with you Serapion and Tigris, presbyters, for whom there will be occasion." This summons being read, the whole company were offended at it, but told the bishops that brought it, they would return an answer to Theophilus by messengers of their own, to whom they accordingly wrote to this effect: "Presume not to intrench upon and disturb the church's affairs, nor to confound order; rend not the church, for which Christ came down from heaven. But if you will be so rash and hasty, as to lay aside the canons of the Nicene council, and take upon you to hear causes without your own jurisdiction, come hither to us into this well-regulated city, and provoke us not, as Cain did Abel, to go into the field, that we may, in the first place, hear what you have to say for yourself: for we have libels against you, containing no less than seventy articles, and those charged with the most open and scandalous offences. And for number, we that are here assembled, by the grace of God, for the peace, not the destruction of the church, are more than you. For your synod consists but of thirty-six bishops, most whereof come out of one province, whereas we are forty, met out of several provinces, and seven of that number metropolitans. And it is agreeable both to reason and custom, that, in matters of this nature, the lesser number should be concluded by the major, and by the more eminent part. We have also your own letter, wherein you admonish our colleague John not to meddle with judging a bishop out of his own province. Wherefore submit yourselves to the canons of the church, and rather intercede with your accusers, to let fall the charge they have brought against you, or at least take them off from troubling Chrysostom with their complaints." This answer being drawn up, Chrysostom told them, that they might send what message they thought good, but for his own part he was resolved to return a particular answer to Theophilus, which was in substance this: "That he did not decline being brought to trial, but only refused to be judged by a professed and declared enemy.<sup>k</sup> For he who, before ever he had received any libels, had, from the very first, given such plain

<sup>k</sup> Chrys. ep. ad Innoc. s. 2, vol. iii. p. 517.

evident instances of partiality and dissatisfaction, abstained from the prayers and communion of the church, suborned accusers, drawn over the clergy to him, and made the church desolate, how was he ever like to prove a fair and equal judge, and fit to ascend a tribunal noways agreeable to him? For it is not reasonable, that a man that lives in Egypt should judge those that dwell in Thrace, and this man too himself lying under an accusation, and withal an open adversary to those whom he is to judge; that, for his own part, he openly declared, that as he was innocent, so he was most ready to assert his innocency, and to answer the allegations brought against him before an hundred or a thousand bishops: that he stood not upon the place where he should be tried,<sup>1</sup> though he thought it most fit to be within the city; they were the persons of the judges he excepted against, particularly against Theophilus himself, who had said, both at Alexandria and in Lycia, that he was going to court to depose Chrysostom, which he demonstrated at his arrival by refusing all manner of familiarity or communion with him. And he who shewed himself an enemy before the trial, what would he be at and after it? He excepted likewise against Acacius, who had threatened that he would ‘season his pot for him.’ That for Severian and Antiochus, it was needless to say any thing, their misdemeanours being exposed upon the public theatres, and no doubt divine vengeance would quickly overtake them. If, therefore, (said he,) you be really desirous that I should appear, discharge these four from being judges: if they be only accusers, let them be brought in, that I may know in what circumstances I am like to be, and whether I am to appear before them as adversaries or as judges, and then I am most willing to appear, not before them only, but before a general council. And take notice, that though you should send me a thousand summons, I am resolved to return no other answer.”

VIII. With these answers they despatched away Demetrius bishop of Pisinus, Eleusius of Apamea, and Lupinus of Apiaria, with whom they joined two presbyters, Germanus and Severus. As they were going out, in came a notary with an edict from the emperor, granting power, according to their request, to force the persons concerned to appear, which he pressed them to. No sooner was he despatched, but two presbyters of Chrysostom’s

<sup>1</sup> Pallad. dial. de vit. Chrys. c. 8.

own clergy—Eugenius, who, for his zeal in this affair, was made bishop of Heradia, and Isaac the monk, who, from the beginning, had confederated with Severian and Antiochus—came, and addressing themselves to Chrysostom: The synod (said they) commands that you come over to them, to answer to the crimes objected to you. In answer whereunto he sent some others of his bishops to expostulate with them to this purpose: with what reason or order they could pretend to judge him, who would not dismiss his enemies from amongst them, and who took upon them to cite him by those of his own clergy. But so far were his answers from being satisfactory, that the bishops who carried them were treated with an uncommon savageness and inhumanity; one beaten, another pulled and torn, a third had those very irons clapped upon his neck which they had prepared for Chrysostom, to have loaded him with as he was to be sent on shipboard, and transmitted to some obscure corner of the world; which the good bishop hearing of, kept close where he was. But it is time we now return back to the synod.

IX. Chrysostom not appearing after four several summonses, (for so often Sozomen and Photius say he was cited,) they proceeded to the examination of the articles alleged against him; though of the whole twenty-nine exhibited by John the deacon, they insisted only upon four;<sup>m</sup> the two first, the ninth, and the twenty-seventh: after which Isaacius (whom Photius styles a bishop, but probably was no other but Isaac, the monk, whom we lately mentioned, though he, as well as his fellow-presbyter Eugenius, might, for his good services, be afterwards made a bishop) gave in another charge against Chrysostom, containing seventeen articles, many of them the same with those that had been exhibited before, those that were any thing different were as follows: I. That Epiphanius, since departed, had refused to hold communion with him upon the account of his favouring the Origenian monks, Ammonius, Euthymius, Eusebius, and the rest. II. That he affirmed, that in the church there was a table full of furies. III. That he was wont to vaunt himself in the church in such terms as these, ἐρῶ, μαίνομαι, “I am desperately in love, I rave, and am transported;” and that he ought to have explained his meaning, what *furies* he meant, and what those other words imported, being such as the church was not acquainted with.

<sup>m</sup> Phot. Cod. LIX.



IV. That he gave liberty, and encouraged men to sin, by venting such doctrines as these: "If thou sinnest again, repent again;" and "as oft as thou sinnest, come to me, and I will heal thee." V. That he had taught this blasphemous doctrine in the church, that Christ when he prayed was not heard, for that he did not pray right. VI. That he stirred up the people to sedition, and to mutiny against the synod. VII. That he entertained Gentiles, who had done innumerable mischiefs to Christians, and kept them in the church, and there protected them. VIII. That he went into other men's provinces, and there ordained bishops. IX. That he had ordained without convening, nay, against the opinion of his clergy. X. That he had taken other men's servants before they were emancipated, while they lay under accusations, and had made them bishops. XI. That he had oft misused Isaacius himself, who preferred this charge. But of this last charge, they discussed no more than the first and the fourth articles; from whence they went back to the third article of the former charge, which concerned the sale of the church-jewels and ornaments, and for the proof of this they produced Arsacius, Atticus, and Elpidius, who also, together with Acacius, deposed to the fourth article. And to add yet the more weight, Geron-tius, Faustinus, and Eugnomonius, three of the Asian bishops, stood up and delivered in their libels, complaining that Chrysostom had unjustly deposed them from their bishoprics.

X. In these proceedings they spent twelve synodical sessions, when the managers demanded judgment against the person accused. Whereupon Paul, bishop of Heraclea, (who by his place was chief president of the synod, the bishops of Constantinople being obliged to receive their ordination from the hands of the metropolitan of Heraclea,) commanded every one to deliver his opinion, which they did, beginning with Gymnasius, and ending with Theophilus, all of them concluding that he ought to be deposed from his see: which done, they wrote an account of it to the clergy of Constantinople, and sent also the emperor this following relation: "Forasmuch as John has been accused of certain crimes, of which being conscious to himself, he would not appear, the laws in that case depose him; which is the sentence now passed upon him. The libels contained also a charge of sedition, wherefore your piety will please to give order, that,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. quæ de hac re habet Socrat. l. vi. c. 21.

<sup>o</sup> Pallad. c. 8.

whether he submit or no, he be expelled, and made to undergo the penalty of high treason; it not being a matter that lay within our cognizance :” by this high treason, meaning the affront they pretended he had offered the empress, whom they reported he had styled Jezebel. A warrant was hereupon procured for execution of the sentence, which was sent to, and read in the synod.<sup>p</sup> In the thirteenth and last session, they proceeded against some others of his party : Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis ;<sup>q</sup> but especially against Heraclides, bishop of Ephesus : Macarius, bishop of the Magnetes, appearing against him, and John the monk exhibiting a libel, wherein he charged him with being an Origenist, and that he had been guilty of theft at Cæsarea in Palestine, having stolen the clothes of Aquilinus the deacon, and had been taken in the act ; and that notwithstanding all this, Chrysostom had ordained him bishop of Ephesus. But it seems he found friends in the synod, who stood by him, and would not suffer the sentence of deposition to pass against him.

XI. Amongst all the transactions of this synod, the reader will wonder, perhaps, that he hears nothing of that which was the first and main spring of the motion, and about which Theophilus had made so many clamorous outcries, viz. the condemnation of Origen’s works.<sup>r</sup> But Theophilus had caught the fish he aimed at, and the bait was now laid aside. And he was willing to be at peace with the Egyptian monks, could they but be brought to any shew of sorrow and submission, that might seem to justify his fierce zeal against them. To this purpose, agents were set on work, who represented to them how ready Theophilus was to pardon what was past, if they would but sue for it, and that the synod did intercede for them. Allured with these smooth pretences, and desirous after all to sit down in quiet, they yielded to say, what they were wont to do when they received the greatest injuries, “ Forgive us :” upon which easy terms Theophilus readily received them into favour, and readmitted them to communion : which perhaps had not been so tamely assented to, had the two brothers, Dioscorus and Ammonius, the prime sticklers of the party, been alive ; for Dioscorus died a little before the synod, having earnestly prayed God,<sup>s</sup> either that he might see the peace of the church, or be himself translated into a better world. He was buried in the

<sup>p</sup> Phot. Cod. LIX.<sup>q</sup> Id. *ibid*.<sup>r</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 17.<sup>s</sup> Pallad. c. 17.

church of St. Mocius at Constantinople, (not in that of the Oak at Chalcedon, as some relate,<sup>t</sup>) where his memory was so venerable, that several who before-time were wont to swear by the martyr, took their oaths henceforward upon the prayers of Dioscorus. Ammonius fell sick about the time that things were preparing for the synod, and accordingly caused himself to be carried over to Rufinus's village at Chalcedon, where, his disease growing upon him, he died soon after; foretelling upon his death-bed,<sup>u</sup> that there would be a mighty schism and persecution in the church, after which the authors of it would come to a very ill end, and then a blessed peace and union should succeed; as it accordingly came to pass. He was buried in the Apostoleum, or church of the Apostles, and his tomb was famous for the curing fevers, as my author,<sup>w</sup> who lived at that time, reports. A man he was, at the news of whose death Theophilus himself could not but weep,<sup>x</sup> and openly say of him, that none of the monks of that time was comparable to him, though he had created him no little trouble. Thus ended the long and fierce contention between Theophilus and the monks about the Origenian controversy, started at first upon unwarrantable designs, and carried on by worse principles and practices. And indeed that Theophilus herein was acted more by sinister ends than zeal against the thing itself, is evident in that, after all the noise he had made about it, he familiarly studied Origen's works;<sup>y</sup> and being challenged by one for so doing, he replied, "Origen's books are like a meadow beset with all sorts of herbs and flowers; where I find any thing that is good and wholesome, I take it to my own use; where I meet with that that is prickly and useless, I pass it by."

## SECTION V.

### HIS ACTS FROM HIS DEPARTURE TILL THE ORDER FOR HIS SECOND BANISHMENT.

The people's disturbance at the news of his being deposed. Chrysostom privately conveyed into Bithynia. The great distractions in the city. Chrysostom recalled. The empress excuses herself to him. His refusal to enter the city, till publicly cleared.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 17.

<sup>u</sup> Pallad. c. 17.

<sup>w</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>x</sup> Sozom. l. yiii. c. 17.

<sup>y</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 17.



Forced to come in, to quiet the people. His triumphant return, and oration to the people upon that occasion. The quarrel between the followers of Theophilus and the citizens. Theophilus, privately returns back to Alexandria. A synod at Constantinople to reverse the acts of the former synod against Chrysostom. He falls again under the displeasure of the empress. His smart invective against her statue, and the dissolute sports used at that place. His bold sermon preached at that time. His enemies furnished with secret instructions from Theophilus. A second synod holden against Chrysostom at Constantinople. A canon of the council of Antioch urged against him, with his exception to it. The true state of that matter. Elpidius's stout pleading for Chrysostom before the emperor. The emperor overpersuaded by Chrysostom's enemies. All interposals in his behalf, vain. The violence used towards Chrysostom's clergy and their people assembled in Constantius's *baptisterium*. The abuses and injuries offered to those that fled to assemble in the fields and woods. Theophilus's message and representation of the case at Rome. Chrysostom's letter to pope Innocent, and other Western bishops. Innocent's letter to Theophilus, that the whole cause might be fairly heard in an impartial synod.

THE news of what had passed in the synod soon flew abroad among the people, who were infinitely troubled at it, and gathering together guarded the church night and day,<sup>2</sup> lest he should be taken thence; crying out, that his cause ought to be heard before a greater, and a more equal and indifferent assembly. But he, fearing a popular insurrection, did on the third day about noon, unknown to the people, deliver up himself to the commander, that came with a party of soldiers to receive him, who in the evening carried him through the city, put him on ship-board, and sailed away that night to Hieron, a port in the mouth of the Euxine sea, where he landed, and was carried to some farms that were at Prænetum in Bithynia: where we leave him for a while, and return back to see what passed after his departure at Constantinople. No sooner was it known that he was gone, but the whole city was in an uproar; many blamed the emperor, more the synod, but the whole load was cast upon Theophilus: those who till then had been his enemies, were now moved with compassion towards him; and many who but just before had wished him deposed, cried out now, it was malice and injustice. In this general tumult, the monks, who were Chrysostom's fast friends, bore not the least share; they shut up the churches, and suffered not the people to frequent public prayers, till it grew up to that height of confusion, that, if Zosimus say true,<sup>a</sup> the people and soldiers fell upon the monks,

<sup>2</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 15. Sozom. l. viii. c. 18. Pallad. c. 8. Chrys. Ep. ad Innoc. s. 2. vol. iii. p. 517. Theodor. l. v. c. 34. vid. Zosim. l. v. c. 23.

<sup>a</sup> Loc. supr. citat.

great numbers of whom they killed in the church, and pursued those that escaped, sparing none whom they found in black, (which was the common habit of the monks,) insomuch, that many who were then in mourning, or upon some other occasions wore black at that time, were without the least distinction put to death. Severian, hoping to quiet men's minds by justifying what had been done, went up and preached, and in his sermon told the people, that though Chrysostom had been condemned for nothing else, yet his pride and insolence were enough to deserve the punishment that had been put upon him: for though all other sins may be pardoned, yet the scripture plainly testifies, that "God resisteth the proud." But this made it worse, and blew up the people into a greater rage, so that there was little hope to allay the tumult. It added not a little to the general consternation, that at night happened a terrible earthquake, which was looked upon as a signification of the displeasure of heaven against the late transactions: all which extremely affrighted them at court, and the next morning they immediately despatched away the emperor's secretary to bring him back; and the empress Eudoxia, knowing how much she had promoted the designs against him, and seeing the stream of the people run violently that way, had upon her knees begged of the emperor to recall him, and withal sent away Brison her eunuch with letters to him,<sup>b</sup> desiring him not to think that she was any ways conscious to, or had the least hand in the troubles that had come upon him, wherein she protested she was innocent. They were corrupt and wicked men, she said, that had framed this whole scene and contrivance of his sufferings; calling God to witness, that her tears and protestations were sincere and real, and that she honoured him as bishop, and particularly as the person that had with his own hands regenerated and baptized her children. After this, other messengers were sent to hasten his return, insomuch that the Bosphorus was crowded with them. Nor were the people backward to bear a part in this triumph; they covered the mouth of the Propontis with their boats, and when they met him, carried lighted torches before him.

II. Chrysostom in his return landed at a village called Marianæ, belonging to the empress, lying near the Anaplus on the mouth of the Pontus, about four miles distant from the city.

<sup>b</sup> Chrys. Serm. post. red. ab Exil. s. 4. vol. iii. p. 429. et Sozem. l. viii. c. 18.

Here he took up his quarters, protesting he would not go into the city, till he could vindicate his innocency before a greater synod than that wherein he had been condemned. But the people were impatient of delays, and began to murmur openly, and throw the fault upon the court, which therefore used all its artifices to bring him home; to which he had no sooner yielded, but the empress sent to compliment him,<sup>c</sup> that now her prayers were heard, and the reformation accomplished which she had so passionately begged for; that she looked upon it as a greater glory than the crown she wore, that she had recovered her bishop, that she had restored the head to the body, the pilot to the ship, the pastor to his flock, and the bridegroom to his nuptial bed; that those that had invaded and defiled it, were ashamed; and that now she had done this, she cared not much whether she lived or died. He was met on the way by crowds of people, who sung hymns prepared on purpose for this solemnity; others carried lighted torches in their hands; and in this joyful and splendid equipage they brought him to his cathedral, where they importuned him to ascend the episcopal throne, and give them his blessing. He told them he was disabled, being under a censure; that the judges that had condemned him must reverse their sentence, and restore him to his see. This denial did but the more sharpen the people's unsatisfied desires, who pressed him to it with greater vehemency; till finding that nothing else would quiet them, he went up, and in the accustomed form pronounced the peace to the people. And seeing them still desirous of something more, he made an extempore oration to them,<sup>d</sup> wherein taking for his theme the story of Pharaoh king of Egypt's forcible taking away Sarah, Abraham's wife, intending her for his own bed, he shews that Theophilus the Egyptian had offered the same violence to his church and spouse, which with force and armed followers he had seized upon: a case which he draws out into a very elegant comparison. And taking occasion, as he had good reason, to commend the kindness and forwardness both of prince and people, he so inflamed the affections of his auditors, that bursting out into shouts and acclamations in honour of the emperor and his lady Eudoxia, they forced him somewhat abruptly to break off his sermon: a very eloquent discourse,

<sup>c</sup> Serm. post red. ab Exil. s. 4. vol. iii. p. 430.

<sup>d</sup> Ext. ibid. p. 427, etc. et ap. Georg. Alex. in vit. Chrysost.



which, though Baronius bewails as lost, yet is it still extant, being, together with his former, preserved by George, patriarch of Alexandria, in the account he has given of Chrysostom's life, being the most considerable and valuable piece of that life.

III. Theophilus, we may imagine, was sorely vexed at these proceedings. A great mind he had to charge Chrysostom publicly with acting contrary to the canons, in exercising his episcopal office, after he had been deposed. But he was afraid to disoblige the emperor and the great ones at court, who he saw were forced to humour the people. Therefore he resolved to begin with Heraclides, bishop of Ephesus, whose accusers he cited, and formed a process against him. His friends pleaded, that it was not consonant to the laws either of church or state, to sit upon and condemn a man that was absent, and unable to speak for or defend himself. But Theophilus and his party resolved to proceed, as the others did to oppose his proceedings, and the contest grew so high between the Egyptians that sided with Theophilus, and the people of Constantinople, that it came to blows, and some were wounded, and others slain in the quarrel. Affrighted with this riot, Severian and the rest of the bishops of that gang fled out of town; and Theophilus himself, not knowing to what this might grow, and understanding that a council was suddenly to be called to recanvass and discuss matters, took shipping at midnight, and set sail for home. And it was time for him to be gone, for the people, enraged at his wicked and malicious attempts, searched for him,<sup>e</sup> with a resolution to have thrown him into the sea. Chrysostom, in the mean time, earnestly urged the emperor,<sup>f</sup> that a council might be summoned to clear his innocency, and to re-examine the unrighteous sentence they had passed upon him. The same he told the Syrian bishops that stayed behind, desiring them to deliver up the libels of accusation, and the acts of the synod, or at least to specify the crimes he had been charged with, and to nominate his accusers. But they refused to meddle. The emperor hereupon sent to Theophilus, commanding him and his bishops to come again, and render an account of what they had done, and that they should not think it enough that one party had condemned the other, when the other was absent, and when they had so plainly acted against all laws and canons. But he had

<sup>e</sup> Pallad. c. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Epist. ad Innoc. s. 3. vol. iii. p. 518.

no mind to it, and accordingly excused himself upon pretence he was afraid of a tumult in his absence, as indeed the people, even before the emperor's letters came, had entertained him with a thousand sarcasms and reproaches. However, there assembled at Constantinople sixty and odd bishops, who took the proceedings of the former synod under a review, reversed the acts of it, and entirely restored Chrysostom to his see; who, about the same time, preferred his presbyter, Serapion, to the bishopric of Heraclea.

IV. But this calm season lasted not long, "the clouds returning after rain." He had not been long at home, when a silver statue of the empress Eudoxia was to be solemnly erected.<sup>s</sup> It was put upon a column of porphyry, and that set upon a high basis, and placed not far from the church of St. Sophia, in the street just before it. It was dedicated, as was usual in such cases, with many wild and ludicrous rites, which were so much the more at this time, the provost of the city being a Semipagan and a Manichee, who encouraged the people to shoutings and dancings, and all manner of exorbitant extravagances. Indeed, it was the usual place where the people met to perform their loose sports and pastimes, to the great disturbance and distraction of the congregation in their divine assemblies. This Chrysostom could not bear, but upon all occasions reprov'd it smartly in his sermons, blaming both them that did it, and those who patronised and encouraged it. And when he understood that the empress thought herself deeply concerned in these reflections, and intended to have him called again to an account, instead of pursuing the softer and gentler methods of persuasion and insinuation, he gave way to his old bluntness and impartiality; and taking occasion from the story of John the Baptist, and his treatment by Herod and Herodias, (read, it is like, as the lesson for that day,) he began his sermon in this manner,<sup>h</sup> (though Photius much questions the genuineness of it, as now extant:) "Now again Herodias raves and is vexed, again she dances, again she seeks to have John Baptist's head in a charger. Again Jezebel goes up and down, trying how she may ravish away Naboth's vineyard, and drive holy Elias into the

<sup>s</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 18. Sozom. l. viii. c. 20.

<sup>h</sup> Ext. vol. viii. p. 1. inter spuria, de hac tamen orat. vid. quæ habet Phot. Cod. CCLXXIV.

wilderness." And then he proceeds to lay down the character of an ill woman, affirming, that no beast in the world, no, not the lion or the dragon, is comparable to a bad woman; which he illustrates from the acts of several ill women that are upon record in scripture. And then, that he might not quite discourage that part of his auditory, he turns the tables, and discourses of the nature, qualities, and actions of good women, whose examples he propounds and recommends to them. His adversaries now thought themselves furnished with advantage enough against him, and all the rooms in the palace are made to ring of the sermon; and though the latter part might seem to compound for the former, yet the first part only was talked of, and lost nothing in the aggravation. Eudoxia stormed to be thus traduced, and, as she thought, belibelled in public sermons, and therefore began to give a more open vent to her resentment, which Chrysostom's enemies were not backward to improve. And first they write to Theophilus,<sup>i</sup> desiring him, either to come himself and head the party, or at least to send them directions how to proceed in it. The wary man was not willing to venture his person, but sent three bishops, Paulus, Poemen, and a third whom he had newly made, furnished with instructions, and certain canons, which having been heretofore made against Athanasius, would now equally conclude against Chrysostom.

VI. Towards the expiring of the year 403, several bishops out of Syria,<sup>k</sup> Cappadocia, Pontus, and Phrygia were convened at Constantinople, the chief whereof were Leontius of Ancyra, and Ammonius of Laodicea in Pisidia. They remembered Theophilus had run himself into an inconvenience by rejecting all manner of communion with Chrysostom, before he had been judicially tried; wherefore, at their first coming to town, they scrupled not to communicate with him, till they found how things stood at court, where his interest went more visibly down the wind every day. For Christmas-day now approaching, the emperor (easily managed by Eudoxia and others about him) came not as he was wont to church, but sent Chrysostom word, that he could not communicate with him till he had cleared himself of the crimes that had been objected to him. Chrysostom desired nothing more, and publicly challenged his accusers to make good their

<sup>i</sup> Pallad. c. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Socrat. et Sozom. loc. supra cit. Pallad. c. 8.



charge; but they had not the hardiness to venture upon it. And therefore Leontius and Ammonius privately acquainted Acacius and Antiochus, that the best way was to let go the old charge, and to insist only upon this, that being synodically deposed, he had of his own head, without sufficient authority, repossessed himself of his see. Chrysostom replied, that, at his return, he had been reinstated by the votes of sixty-five bishops. But they were a greater number, answered Leontius, that condemned them in the synod: by which, he must necessarily mean all those who consented to that synodal decree, though not present at it; there being otherwise no more than thirty-six, or (if we should take Photius's account) forty-five bishops present in that synod. Then they betook themselves to the canons which Theophilus had sent them,<sup>1</sup> especially the fourth canon of the council of Antioch, holden Ann. Chr. 341, whereby it is provided, that "if any bishop or presbyter be deposed, (*ἀδίκως ἢ δικάως*, "right or wrong," this they added to the canon,) and shall of himself, without the authority of a synod, return to his church, (or as the canon itself has it,) shall presume to celebrate the divine offices, such a one shall be left destitute of all hopes of being restored, and shall have no place of excuse or defence afforded to him; and that all who after that knowingly communicate with him, shall be cast out of the church." And by the twelfth canon of that council it is provided, that "whoever in this case shall solicit the emperor, when he ought to appeal to a greater synod than that by which he was deposed, and refer his case to their judgment and determination, shall be incapable of absolution, nor shall he be admitted to his defence, or have any hopes of being restored to his see." Against these canons Chrysostom excepted, as being contrived by the Arians, and framed on purpose by men who designed to run down Athanasius, and to overthrow the catholic faith. And, indeed, it must be confessed, that though the major part of the bishops in that council were Catholics, and the council itself be received into the code of the universal church, yet was there an active party in that synod, who were either professed Arians, or such as favoured that cause, and who got some canons so framed, as might best serve their turn, promote their designs, and warrant their proceedings against Athanasius. But still this must be acknowledged to have been only an answer

<sup>1</sup> Pallad. c. 3.

*ad hominem*, which he might the freelier make use of, the canons of Antioch not being as yet admitted into the ecclesiastic code, though they were soon after. The truth is, he was not really within the charge of the Antiochian canons, having, according to them, been canonically examined, acquitted, and readmitted, and had accordingly before truly told them, that he had been restored by a far greater synod than that whereby he had been deposed and banished.

VII. Leontius and the rest found they should do little good by disputing the case, and therefore went to persuade the emperor to call ten of the bishops of Chrysostom's party, and to prevail with them to give their suffrage for the authority of the canons of Antioch, some affirming them to have been made by Catholics, others by Arians. But Elpidius, the aged bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and Tranquilinus went to court, and begged of the emperor that, without a sufficient cause given, Chrysostom might not be ejected out of his see: for neither before had he been rightly deposed, but forcibly carried away by the imperial officer; nor did he come back of his own head, but by his majesty's express command, brought to him by the secretary: and for the canons which they now produce, we have shewn them to have been the artifice of heretics. The adverse party raised a mighty noise, as if they intended to carry the cause by clamour and confusion, till a little silence being made, Elpidius mildly addressed himself to the emperor: "Sir, (said he,) we will no longer vex and tire your patience, but will put it upon this issue. Let Antiochus, Acacius, and the rest of our brethren, subscribe these canons, which they pretend to be made by Catholics, and let them declare that they are of the same faith with those that made them, and the controversy will be at an end." The emperor apprehending the honesty of the proposal, smiled upon Antiochus, and told him, that nothing could be more fit and reasonable. This struck them dumb; but not knowing how otherwise to come off, they at length, though with evident reluctance, promised they would subscribe, which, as they never meant, so they never performed.

VIII. It was now nine or ten months since Chrysostom's return,<sup>m</sup> and the holy time of Lent was come, when Antiochus went privately to the emperor, and told him that Chrysostom

<sup>m</sup> Pallad. c. 8.

had been utterly baffled, and had lost the day; and therefore entreated him, that Easter being at hand, he would give order for his expulsion. Arcadius was easily imposed upon, and thought that in matters of this nature he might securely rely on a bishop's word; and being wearied with importunities, sent Chrysostom order to quit his church. The good bishop returned this plain answer: "I have received this church from God my Saviour, and am entrusted with the care of this people's souls, and I cannot desert this charge. But if you be resolved upon it, the civil power is yours; throw me out by force, that I may at least plead your authority for the non-performance of my office." This somewhat mitigated the rigour that would have been otherwise used; and officers were sent from court, who peaceably turned him out of the church, and confined him to his own house; intending thereby to try what success their attempts were like to have against him. If they found the people would not bear it, it was but bringing him back from his own house to the church; if they took it quietly, they might then proceed to further severities. But, this notwithstanding, he still frequented the church and the divine assemblies, though he stirred not much abroad at the time. And thus things continued all the Passion-week, when on the very day of our Lord's crucifixion he received fresh orders to leave the church; whereto he returned such an answer as he thought most convenient. The emperor, out of reverence to the solemnity of the sacred time, and fear of putting the city into an uproar, called for Acacius and Antiochus, and asked them what was best to be done? advising them to beware lest they took wrong measures. They replied, "Sir, trouble not yourself; let the deposing of Chrysostom lie at our door, we are ready to answer it with the peril of our heads." Notice hereof immediately got abroad; whereupon forty bishops, who kept Lent with Chrysostom, went to the emperor and the empress, who were at that time in the *martyria*, with tears beseeching them to spare the church of Christ, that it might not be deprived of its bishop; especially at this time of Easter, when the catechumens, who had been instructed and prepared in order to it, were to receive their baptism. But their address was rejected: which so moved Paul bishop of Croatia, that turning to the empress, "Eudoxia, (said he,) fear God, and have compassion upon your own children, and



do not by shedding blood profane Christ's holy festival:" which said, the bishops, with weeping eyes and sad hearts, returned back again.

IX. While these things were in agitation, Chrysostom's presbyters, with some of the bishops of his party,<sup>n</sup> had assembled the people in Constantius's baptistery, where they watched and spent their time, some in reading the holy scriptures, others in preparing the catechumens against the approaching solemnity. This Antiochus and his party beheld with an evil eye, and solicited their patrons at court, that this assembly might be dispersed. But the *magister officiorum*, who was the chief officer of the palace, refused to meddle; he told them it was night, and the congregation numerous, and that care must be had that nothing should be done rashly. They replied, the churches were empty, and that if the emperor should go thither, and find nobody there, he would plainly perceive that the people's love to Chrysostom had drawn them thence; and would reproach them with envy and ill-will, who had suggested to him, that there were none that willingly adhered to him. To gratify their importunity, having first protested against the ill events of the attempt, he ordered Lucius, a Gentile, as was reported, captain of the band of the *scutarii*, to go quietly to the church, and see if he could bring back the people to assemble there. He went, and came back with this account; that no good was to be done in it, such were the numbers, such the zeal and fervency of the people. Not satisfied herewith, they prevailed with him to try once more; and either by fair means to reduce the people to the church, or by force to hinder them from celebrating the solemnity. And that he might not want fit guides and directors, they lent him some of their clergy to go along with him, who accompanied him to the place of meeting;<sup>o</sup> whereinto they no sooner entered, but all corners were full of horror and confusion, the clergy were seized, beaten, wounded, imprisoned, and treated with all manner of indignities; the catechumens dispersed; the women who had stripped themselves in order to their baptism, fled away naked, and many of them wounded; and the very water in the baptistery dyed with the blood that was shed there. Thence breaking into the chancel, they profanely handled the sacred mysteries; the very soldiers spilling the consecrated wine upon their clothes. The villanies committed were inexpressible,

<sup>n</sup> Pallad. c. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Id. *ibid.* Chrys. Epist. ad Innoc. s. 3, vol. iii. p. 518.

and the confusion infinite ; people running up and down all parts of the city, and filling every place they came to with sighs, and groans, and tears, and tragical stories. And edicts were every where published one upon the back of another, severely threatening all that refused to renounce communion with Chrysostom. As soon as it was day, the greatest part of the city fled, and betook themselves to trees, or woods, or fields, or any places that might but afford a tolerable shelter, where they might keep the festival. It happened that the emperor went out that day to divert himself in a meadow adjoining to the city, where he espied a field covered all over with white. These were the catechumens, who had been baptized the night before, and had then (as the custom was in the primitive church) their white garments upon them, and were in number near three thousand ; the dangerous posture of affairs, and the fears of losing their bishop, having, probably, increased the number of baptismal candidates at that time. The emperor was strangely surprised at the sight, and asked his guards, who they were ; who, the more to exasperate him against them, told him, they were a conventicle of heretics. A party of soldiers were immediately drawn out, and ordered to go and disperse the assembly : which they did, apprehending some few of the clergy, but more of the people, whom they put under custody. Several women of noble quality were laid hold on, from some of which they took their veils, from others their pendants, plucking away part of the ear for haste ; others, to secure themselves from an immodest rudeness and violence, changed clothes with their waiting-women, and in that disguise made their escapes. Vast numbers were seized, so that the prisons were turned into churches, where hymns were sung, and the holy eucharist administered ; while churches were turned into prisons, where nothing was seen or heard but whips and scourges, oaths and execrations, to force the people to renounce and disown their bishop.

X. In this forlorn and hopeless condition of affairs at home, Chrysostom bethought himself of calling in some assistance from abroad, which, if it had no other success, would at least let the world understand the true state of his case ; in order whereunto he had some while since resolved upon a despatch to Rome, to make known his case to pope Innocent and the Western bishops. But craft and malice are up and at work betimes, and careful by all arts to support their interests ; while truth and innocency are

# THE LIFE OF TERTULLIAN

## PRESBYTER OF CARTHAGE.

His names, whence. His father, who. His education in all kinds of learning. His skill in the Roman Laws. Different from Tertulian the lawyer. His way of life before his conversion, inquired into. His married condition. His conversion to Christianity, when. The great cruelty used towards the Christians. Severus's kindness to them. Tertullian's excellent apology in their behalf. His address to Scapula, and the tendency of that discourse. Severus's violent persecuting the Christians. His prohibition of the *Heteriæ*. Tertullian's book to the Martyrs, and concerning Patience. His zeal against heresies, and writings that way. His book *De Pallio*, when written, and upon what occasion. His becoming presbyter, when. His book *De Corona*, and what the occasion of it. His declining from the Catholic party. Montanus, who and whence. His principles and practices. Tertullian's owning them, and upon what occasion. His morose and stubborn temper. How far he complied with the Montanists, and acknowledged the Paraclete. How he was imposed upon. His writings against the Catholics. The severity of the ancient discipline. *Episcopus Episcoporum*, in what sense meant by Tertullian concerning the bishop of Rome. His separate meetings at Carthage. His death. His character. His singular parts and learning. His books. His phrase and style. What contributed to its perplexedness and obscurity. His unorthodox opinions. A brief plea for him.

QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus, was (as the ancients affirm,<sup>a</sup> and himself implies when he calls it his country<sup>b</sup>) born at Carthage, the metropolis of Africa, famous above all others for antiquity, sovereignty, and power, insomuch that for some ages it contended for glory and superiority even with Rome itself. He was called Septimius, because descended of the *Gens Septimia*, a tribe of great account among the Romans, being first regal, afterwards plebeian, and last of all consular and patrician. Florens, from some particular family of that house so called, and Quintus (a title common among the Romans) probably because the fifth child which his parents had; and Ter-

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. de script. in Tertul. Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 34.

<sup>b</sup> De Pall. c. 1. et Apolog. c. 9.



tullian, a derivative from Tertullus, it is like from his immediate parent. His father was a soldier, a centurion under the proconsul of Africa, (called therefore by St. Hierom and others *Centurio Proconsularis*,) not a man of proconsular dignity, as some make him; he was a Gentile, in which religion Tertullian also was brought up, as himself confesses.<sup>c</sup> He was educated in all the accomplishments which the learning either of the Greeks or Romans could add to them; he seems to have left no paths untraced; to have intimately conversed with poets, historians, orators, not to have looked only, but to have entered into the secrets of philosophy and the mathematics; not unseen in physic and the curiosities of nature; and, as Eusebius notes,<sup>d</sup> a man famous for other things, but especially admirably skilled in the Roman laws; though they who would hence infer him to have been a professed lawyer, and the same with him whose *Excerpta* are yet extant in the *Pandects*, are guilty of a notorious mistake, the name of that lawyer being Tertylianus; besides that dissonancy that is in their style and language. Or suppose with others that this Tertylian was one of Papinian's scholars in the reign of Alexander Severus, he must by this account be at least thirty years after the other's conversion to Christianity. The original of the error doubtless arose from the nearness and similitude of the names, and the character of his skill in the Roman laws given by Eusebius, which indeed is evident from his works, and especially his *Apology* for the Christians.

II. What was his particular course of life before he came over to the Christian religion, is uncertain. They that conceive him to have been an advocate, and publicly to have pleaded causes, because after his conversion he says of himself,<sup>e</sup> that he owed nothing to the *forum*, took up no place among the *rostra*, made no noise among the benches, did not toss about the laws, nor clamour out causes, as if he had done all this before, might by the same reason conclude him to have been a soldier, because he adds in the same place, that he owed nothing to the camp, with some other offices there mentioned by him. That he was married is evident, though whether before or after his embracing the Christian faith, I cannot positively determine; probably before. However, according to the severity of his principles, he lived with his wife a great part of his life in a state of continency,

<sup>c</sup> Apol. c. 18.<sup>d</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 2.<sup>e</sup> De Pall. c. 5.

conversing with her as his sister, exhorting her to perpetual celibacy, and the utmost strictnesses of a single life, as appears by his two books written to her upon that subject.

III. His conversion to Christianity we may conceive to have happened not long after the beginning of Severus's reign, and a little before the conclusion of the second century. Being a man of an inquisitive and sagacious mind, he had observed the powerful and triumphant efficacy of the Christian faith over the minds and lives of men, its great antiquity, the admirable consent and truth of the predictions recorded in the books of the Christians, the frequent testimonies which the heathen deities themselves gave to its truth and divinity, the ordinary confessions of their demons, when forced to abandon the persons they had possessed, at the command of a Christian, all which he shews at large<sup>f</sup> (at least as we may probably guess) to have been the main inducements of his conversion. In the very entrance of the following *seculum*, Severus being gone to make war upon the Parthians, the magistrates at Rome, and proportionably the governors of provinces, began to bear hard upon the Christians, beholding them as infamous persons, and especially traitors to the empire. Among whom the most principal person, I doubt not, was Plautianus, a man in great favour with the emperor, whose daughter was married to Antoninus, the emperor's eldest son, and whom Severus, at his going into the East, had made prefect of Rome; of him we read,<sup>g</sup> that in the emperor's absence he put to death an infinite number both of the nobility and common people: among whom we cannot question but the Christians had theirs, and it is like the far greatest share. And so notorious was the cruelty, that Severus at his return was forced to apologize for himself,<sup>h</sup> that he had no hand in it. And indeed Severus, in the first part of his reign, was (as Tertullian informs us<sup>i</sup>) very benign and favourable to the Christians; for having been cured of a dangerous distemper by one Proculus, a Christian, who anointed him with oil, he kept him at court with him ever after. Nor did his kindness terminate here; for when he knew that several both men and women of the Senatorian order were Christians, he was so far from persecuting them upon that

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Apol. c. 19, 20. c. 23. et alibi passim.

<sup>g</sup> Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. l. lxxv. et Xiphil. in vit. Sever. p. 328. ed. 1592.

<sup>h</sup> Spartian in vit. Sever. c. 15.

<sup>i</sup> Ad Scapul. c. 4.

account, that he gave them an honourable testimony, and restrained the people, when they were raging against the Christians. This I suppose to have been done at his return from the Parthian expedition, when he found both governors and people engaged in so hot and severe a persecution of the Christians.

IV. The barbarous and cruel usage which the Christians generally met with, engaged Tertullian to vindicate and plead their cause, both against the malice and cruelty of their enemies. For which purpose he published and sent abroad his *Apology*, dedicating it to the magistrates of the Roman empire, and especially the senate at Rome, (for that he went to Rome himself, and personally presented it to the senate, I confess I see no convincing evidence;) wherein with incomparable learning and eloquence, with all possible evidence and strength of reason, he pleads their cause, complains of the iniquity and injustice of their enemies, and the methods of their proceedings; particularly demonstrates the vanity and falsehood of those crimes that were commonly charged upon the Christians, arguing their meekness and innocency, their temperance and sobriety, their piety to God, and obedience to their prince, the reasonableness of their principles, and the holiness of their lives, beyond all just exception: an *Apology* which undoubtedly contributed towards the cooling and qualifying of the present calentures, especially at Severus's return. And, indeed, it appears not by the whole series of that discourse, that the emperor had given any particular countenance to those severities; nay, on the contrary, he expressly styles him the "most constant prince."<sup>k</sup> Not long after this, Tertullian found work nearer home; Scapula, the president and proconsul of Africa, (the same probably with Scapula Tertyllus, a provincial president, to whom there is a rescript of Marcus and Commodus,<sup>l</sup>) treating the Christians much at the same rate that Plautianus had done at Rome. To him, therefore, he addresses himself in a neat and pathetical discourse; representing the honesty and simplicity of Christians, and their hearty prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of the empire, and those particular instances of severity which the Divine Providence had lately inflicted upon it, which could not be reasonably supposed to have been sent upon any other errand, so much as to revenge

<sup>k</sup> *Apol.* c. 4.

<sup>l</sup> *L.* 14. ff. de *Offic. Præsid.* lib. i. *Tit.* 18.



the innocent blood that had been shed; laying before him the clemency and indulgence of former princes and presidents, yea, and of the present emperor himself, so great a friend to Christians: a plain evidence that this book was written at this time, before Severus broke out into open violence against them.

V. The Christians now enjoyed a little respite: but, alas! it was but like the intermitting fits of a fever, which being over, the paroxysm returns with a fiercer violence; Ann. Chr. 202, Severi 10, the persecution revived,<sup>m</sup> and was now carried on by command of the emperor. For Severus, in his journey through Palestine, forbade any, under the heaviest penalties, to become Jews;<sup>n</sup> and the same orders he issued out concerning Christians. The general pretence, it is like, was the prohibiting *heteriæ*, or unlawful societies, (which we have elsewhere described,) for such a rescript Ulpian mentions,<sup>o</sup> whereby Severus forbade the “illegal colleges,” commanding the persons frequenting them to be accused before the prefect of the city, in which number they usually beheld the Christians; though I doubt not but there were (as Spartianus plainly affirms) particular edicts issued out against them. The people, who could hardly be held in before, having now the reins thrown upon their necks, and spurred on by the imperial orders, ran apace upon the execution, so that the churches in all places were filled with martyrdoms and the blood of the saints;<sup>p</sup> and it grew so hot, that Jude,<sup>q</sup> a writer of those times, drawing down his chronology of Daniel’s seventy weeks, to this year, broke off his computation, supposing that the so much celebrated coming of Antichrist was now at hand: so exceedingly (says the historian) were the minds of many shaken and disturbed with the present persecution. Tertullian, that he might speak a word in season, took hold of the present opportunity, and wrote to the martyrs in prison, to comfort them under their sufferings, and exhort them to constancy and final perseverance; as also for the same reason, and about the same time, he published his Discourse concerning Patience, wherein he very elegantly describes the advantages and commendations of that virtue, and especially urges it from the example of God, our blessed Saviour, and speaks therein more favourably than he

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Chron. ad eundem An.

<sup>n</sup> ÆL. Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 17.

<sup>o</sup> L. i. ff. de Offic. Præfect. urb. §. 14. Tit. 12. lib. i.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. c. 6.

did afterwards of retiring in a time of persecution. Nor was he less watchful to defend and preserve the church from error and heresy, writing his "Prescription against Heretics," (for that it was written about this time is evident from several passages, especially where he mentions the time of persecution, the place of the tribunal, the person of the judge, the bringing forth of lions, and the like,) wherein he enumerates and insists upon the several heresies which had infested the church till that time; censuring and confuting their absurd opinions, and promising a more distinct and particular confutation of them afterwards:<sup>r</sup> which accordingly he performed in his discourses against the Jews, against Hermogenes, the Valentinians, Marcion, Praxeas, and some others of their proselytes and disciples, and some of the Montanists themselves, writing a particular tract concerning Baptism, and the use of water in it, and its necessity to salvation, against Quintilla, a woman of great note and eminency among the followers of Montanus, what value soever he afterwards seemed to put upon that sect.

VI. About the fifteenth of Severus, Ann. Chr. 207, he published his book *De Pallio* upon this occasion. He had lately left off the gown, the garment ordinarily worn in all parts of the Roman empire, and had put on the cloak, the usual habit of philosophers, and of all those Christians that entered upon a severer state of life, as we have shewn in the Life of Justin Martyr. Hereupon he was derided by them of Carthage for his lightness and vanity, in so wantonly skipping à *Toga ad Pallium*, from the gown to the cloak, satirically taxing his inconstancy in turning from one course of life to another. To vindicate himself he writes this discourse, wherein he puts forth the keenness of a sarcastic wit, and spreads all the sails of his African eloquence, retorts the case upon his accusers, shews the antiquity, simplicity, easiness, and gravity of this habit, and smartly upbraids that luxury and prodigality that had overrun all orders and ranks of men. And that this was done about this time, and not at his first taking upon him the profession of Christianity, is judiciously observed and urged by Baronius,<sup>s</sup> and more fully proved by the learned Salmasius, in his notes upon that book. Indeed the circumstances mentioned by Tertullian<sup>t</sup>

<sup>r</sup> De Præscript. Hæret. c. 45.

<sup>s</sup> Ad Ann. 197. n. 3. et seq.

<sup>t</sup> De Pall. c. 2.

do not well suit with any other time, as the *præsentis imperii triplex virtus*, which cannot reasonably be meant of any, but Severus and his two sons, Antoninus and Geta, whence in several ancient inscriptions they are put together under the title of AUGUSTI, and emperors; the present happiness, security, enlargement, and tranquillity of the Roman state, which these three powers of the empire had made like a well-cultivated field, *eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis*, every poisonous weed of hostility and sedition being rooted up, with a great deal more to the same purpose: which evidently refers both to his conquest of Pescennius Niger, who usurped the empire, and whom he overthrew and killed at Cyzicum in the East, and to his last year's victory (as Eusebius<sup>u</sup> places it) over Clodius Albinus and his party, whom he subdued and slew at Lyons in France, for attempting to make himself emperor; as afterwards he came into Britain, (*maximum ejus imperii decus*, as the historian styles it,<sup>x</sup> "the greatest honour and ornament of his empire,") where he conquered the natives, and secured his conquests by the famous Pict's wall which he built: by which means he rendered the state of the Roman empire pacate and quiet. At the same time we may suppose it was that Tertullian was made presbyter of Carthage, and that that was the particular occasion of altering his habit, and assuming the philosophic pallium; the clergy of those times being generally those who took upon them an ascetic course of life, and for which reason doubtless the cloak is called by Tertullian in his dialect,<sup>y</sup> *sacerdos suggestus*, the priestly habit. Accordingly Eusebius<sup>z</sup> takes notice of him this very year as becoming famous in the account and esteem of all Christian churches.

VII. Before Severus left Rome, in order to his Britannic expedition, were solemnized the *Decennalia* of Antoninus Caracalla, when besides many magnificent sports and shows, and a largess bestowed upon the people, the emperor gave a donative to the soldiers, which every one that received, was to come up to the tribune with a laurel crown upon his head: among the rest there was one a Christian,<sup>a</sup> who brought his crown along with him in his hand, and being asked the reason why like others he wore it not upon his head? answered, he could not, for that he was a

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. Chron. ad eund. Ann.

<sup>x</sup> Spartian. in vit. Sever. c. 18.

<sup>y</sup> De Pall. c. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. ad An. 208.

<sup>a</sup> De Coron. Milit. c. 1.



Christian. A council of war was presently called, and the man accused before the general, stripped of his military ornaments, his cloak, shoes, and sword, unmercifully beaten, till he was dyed in his own blood, and then cast into prison, there expecting martyrdom, and a better donative and reward from Christ. The rest of the Christians, who were fellow-soldiers in the same army, took offence at his over-nice scrupulosity. What was this but needlessly to betray their liberty, and to sacrifice the general quiet and peace of Christians to one man's private humour? to give the common enemy too just a provocation to fall upon them? where did the laws of their religion forbid such an innocent compliance, nay, rather not only give leave, but command us prudently to decline a danger, by withdrawing from it? what was this but a sturdy and an affected singularity, as if he had been the only Christian? Tertullian, whose mighty zeal engaged him to be a patron to whatever had but the shadow of strictness and severity, presently set himself to defend the fact, and wrote his book *De Corona Militis*, wherein he cries up the act as an heroic piece of zeal and Christian magnanimity, not only warrantable, but honourable; not only lawful, but just and necessary; fortifying his assertion with several arguments, and endeavouring to disable the most specious objections that were made against it. This military act, and Tertullian's vindication of it, happened (as we have here placed it) Ann. Chr. 208, Sever. 16; while others refer it to the year 199, Sever. 7, when the emperor, by the decree of the senate, created his elder son Antoninus emperor, and his younger Geta, Cæsar; in testimony whereof he entertained the people with various shows and solemnities, and bestowed a donative upon the soldiers. If the reader like this period of time better, I will not contend with him, it being what I myself, upon second thoughts, do not think improbable.

VIII. But "let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."<sup>b</sup> Tertullian, who had hitherto stood firm and right in the communion of the Catholic church, began now, about the middle of his age, says St. Hierom,<sup>c</sup> (which I am inclinable rather to understand of his age as a Christian, than the current of his life,) to incline towards the errors of the Montanists. Of which before we give an account, it may not be amiss a little to in-

<sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. x. 12.

<sup>c</sup> De Script. in Tertull.

quire into the author and principles of that sect. Montanus<sup>d</sup> was born at Ardaba, a little village in Mysia in the confines of Phrygia, where about the latter times of Antoninus Pius, but especially in the reign of his successor, he began to shew himself. Pride and an immoderate ambition betrayed the man into the snare and condemnation of the devil: at which breach Satan having entered, took possession of the man; who, acted by the influence of an evil spirit, was wont on a sudden to fall into enthusiastic fits and ecstatic raptures, and while he was in them, in a furious and a frantic manner he poured out wild and unheard-of things, prophesying of what was to come in a way and strain that had not been used hitherto in the church. Proselytes he wanted not, that came over to his party. At first only some few of his countrymen, the Phrygians (whence his sect derived the title of Cataphryges) were drawn into the snare, whom he instructed in the arts of evil speaking, teaching them to reproach the whole Christian church for refusing to entertain and honour his pseudo-prophetic spirit; the same spirit on the contrary pronouncing them blessed that joined themselves to this new prophet, and swelling them with the mighty hopes and promises of what should happen to them, sometimes also gently reproving and condemning them. Among the rest of his disciples two women were especially remarkable, Prisca and Maximilla, whom having first corrupted, he imparted his demon to them, whereby they were presently enabled to utter the most frantic, incoherent, and extravagant discourses. The truth is, he seemed to lay his scene with all imaginable craft and subtlety; in the great and foundation-principles of religion he agreed with the Catholics, embraced entirely the holy scriptures, and pretended that he must receive the gifts of divine grace extraordinarily conferred upon him, which he gave out were more immediately the Holy Ghost: he made a singular show of some uncommon rigours and severities in religion; gave laws for more strict and solemn fasts, and more frequently to be observed than were among the orthodox; taught divorces to be lawful, and forbade all second marriages; called Pepuza and Tymium, two little towns of Phrygia, Jerusalem, that so he might the more plausibly invite simple and unwary proselytes to flock thither. And

<sup>d</sup> Vet. Script. ap. Euseb. l. v. c. 16. Apollon. *ibid.* c. 18. Epiph. *Hæres.* xlviii. s. 1. Tertull. *de Præscript. Hæret.* c. 52.

because he knew no surer way to oblige such persons as would be serviceable to him, than by proposals of gain and advantage, he used all methods of extorting money from his deluded followers, especially under the notion of gifts and offerings; for which purpose he appointed collectors to receive the oblations that were brought in, with which he maintained under-officers, and paid salaries to those that propagated his doctrines up and down the world. Such were the arts, such the principles of the sect first started by Montanus; what additions were made by his followers in after-ages, I am not now concerned to inquire.

IX. Allured with the smooth and specious pretences of this sect, Tertullian began to look that way, though the particular occasion of his starting aside, St. Hierom tells us,<sup>f</sup> was the envy and reproaches which he met with from the clergy of the church of Rome. They that conceive him to have sued for the see of Carthage, vacant by the death of Agrippinus, and that he was opposed and repulsed in it by the clergy of Rome, and so highly resented the affront, as thereupon to quit the communion of the Catholic church, talk at random, and little consider the mortified temper of the man, and his known contempt of the world. Probable it is, that being generally noted for the excessive and over-rigorous strictness of his manners, he had been charged by some of the Roman clergy for compliance with Montanus, and, it may be, admonished to recant, or disown those principles; which his stubborn and resolute temper not admitting, he was, together with Proclus and the rest of the Cataphrygian party, cut off by the bishop of Rome from all communion with that church. For there had been lately a disputation held at Rome between Caius, an ancient orthodox divine, and Proclus, one of the heads of the Montanist party, (as Eusebius,<sup>g</sup> who read the account of it published by Caius, informs us,) wherein Proclus being worsted, was together with all the followers of that sect excommunicated, and Tertullian himself among the rest, as he sufficiently intimates.<sup>h</sup> This, a man of morose and unyielding disposition, and who could brook no moderation that seemed to intrench upon the discipline and practice of religion, could not bear, and therefore making light of the judgment and censures

<sup>f</sup> De Script. in Tertull. Vid. Niceph. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 20. l. ii. c. 25. Hieron. de Script. in Caio.

<sup>h</sup> De Jejun. c. 1.



of that church, flew off, and joined himself to Montanus's party, whose pretended austerities seemed of all others most agreeable to his humour and genius, and most exactly to conspire with the course and method of his life. But as it cannot be doubted that he looked no further than to the appearances and pretensions of that sect, (not seeing the corrupt springs by which the engine was managed within,) so it is most reasonable and charitable to conceive, that he never understood their principles in the utmost latitude and extent of them. If he seems sometimes to acknowledge Montanus to be the Paraclete that was to come into the world, probably he meant not something distinct from the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the apostles, but a mighty power and extraordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost shed upon Montanus, whom God had sent into the world, more fully and perfectly to explain the doctrines of the gospel, and to urge the rules and institutions of the Christian life, which our Lord had delivered when he was upon earth, but did not with the greatest accuracy the things were capable of, the minds of men not being then duly qualified to receive them. That for this end he thought Montanus invested with miraculous powers and a spirit of prophecy, (a thing not unusual even in those times,) and might believe his two prophetesses to be acted with the same spirit: all which might consist with an honest mind, imposed upon by crafty and plausible pretences. And plain it is that for some considerable time Montanus maintained the reputation of great piety, zeal, sanctity, and extraordinary gifts, before he was discovered to the world. And Tertullian in all likelihood had his accounts concerning him, not from himself, but from Proclus, or some others of the party, who might easily delude him, especially in matters of fact, with false informations. However nothing can be more evident, than that he looked upon these new prophets as innovating nothing in the principles of Christianity;<sup>i</sup> that Montanus preached no other God, nor asserted any thing to the prejudice of our blessed Saviour, nor subverted any rule of faith or hope, but only introduced greater severities than other men: that he was not the author, but the restorer of discipline, and only reduced things to that ancient strictness, from which he supposed they had degenerated, especially in the cases of celibacy, single marriages, and such like, as he more than once particularly tells us.<sup>k</sup> Not

<sup>i</sup> De Jejun. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. l. de Monogam. c. 1, 3, 4. et passim de Jejun. c. 12.

to say, that Montanus's followers (as is usual with the after-brood of every sect) asserted many things which their master himself never dreamt of, which yet without distinction are laid at his door; and Tertullian too, because a favourer of the party, drawn into the guilt, and made liable to many improvements, to the hay and stubble which the successors of that sect built upon it.

X. But however it was, he stomached his excommunication, and was highly offended at the looseness and remissness of the discipline among the Catholics, whom with great smartness he persecutes under the name of *psychici*, or animal persons, as those that took too much liberties in their manners and practices of devotion; styling his own party *spirituales*, as whom he thought more immediately guided by the Spirit, more plentifully endowed with the gifts of it, and conversant in a more divine and spiritual life. Against these *psychici* he presently published a tract *De Jejuniis*, wherein he defends the Montanists in the observation of their fasts, their abstinence from flesh, and feeding only upon dried meats; their stationary days, and the keeping them till the very evening; while the orthodox broke up theirs about three of the clock in the afternoon; in all which respects he makes many tart and severe reflections upon them. Indeed the devotions of those times were brisk and fervent, their usages strict and punctual, their ecclesiastic discipline generally very rigid and extreme, seldom admitting persons that had lapsed after baptism to penance and the communion of the church. But this was looked upon by moderate and sober men as making the gate too straight, and that which could not but discourage converts from entering in. Accordingly it began to be relaxed in several places, and particularly the bishop of Rome<sup>1</sup> had lately published a constitution, wherein he admitted persons guilty of adultery and fornication (and probably other crimes) to a place among the penitents. Against this Tertullian storms, cries up the severity of the ancient discipline, writes his book *De Pudicitia*, wherein he considers and disputes the case, and aggravates the greatness of those offences, and undertakes the arguments that pleaded for remission and indulgence. And if in the mentioning this decree the bishop of Rome be styled *episcopus episcoporum*, the champions of that church, before they make such advantage of it,

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. de Pudicit. c. 1.

should do well to prove it to have been a part of the decree, or, if it was, that it was mentioned by Tertullian as his just right and privilege, and not rather (which is infinitely more probable) Tertullian's sarcasm, intended by him as an ironical reflection, and a tart upbraiding the pride and ambition of the bishops of that church, who took too much upon them, and began (as appears from pope Victor's carriage towards the Asian churches in the case of Easter) to domineer over their brethren, and usurp an insolent authority over the whole Christian church. And that this was his meaning, I am abundantly satisfied from Cyprian's<sup>m</sup> using the phrase in this very sense in the famous synod at Carthage, where reflecting upon the rash and violent proceedings of the bishops of Rome (whom though he particularly names not, yet all who are acquainted with the story know whom he means) against those who were engaged in the cause of rebaptizing heretics, he adds, "that as for themselves (the bishops then in the synod) none of them made himself bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical threatening forced his colleagues into a necessity of compliance: since every bishop, according to the power and liberty granted to him, had his proper jurisdiction, and could no more be judged by another, than he himself could judge others."

XI. Whether ever he was reconciled to the catholic communion, appears not; it is certain that for the main he forsook the Cataphrygians,<sup>n</sup> and kept his separate meetings at Carthage, and his church was yet remaining till St. Augustine's time, by whose labours the very relics of his followers, called Tertullianists, were dispersed, and quite disappeared. How long he continued after his departure from the church, is not known; St. Hierom says,<sup>o</sup> that he lived to a very decrepit age, but whether he died under the reign of Alexander Severus, or before, the ancients tell us not, as neither whether he died a natural or violent death. He seems indeed to have been possessed with a passionate desire of laying down his life for the faith; though had he been a martyr, some mention would without peradventure have been made of it in the writings of the church.

XII. He was a man of a smart and acute wit, though a little too much edged with keenness and satirism, *acris et vehementis*

<sup>m</sup> Concil. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 229.

<sup>n</sup> August. de Hæres. c. 86. vol. viii. p. 24.

<sup>o</sup> De Script. in Tertull.



*ingenii*, as St. Hierom characters him,<sup>p</sup> one that knew not how to treat an adversary without salt and sharpness. He was of a stiff and rugged disposition; a rigid censor, inclined to choler, and impatient of opposition; a strict observer of rites and discipline, and a zealous asserter of the highest rigours and most nice severities of religion. His learning was admirable, wherein though many excelled, he had no superiors, and few equals in the age he lived in: *Tertulliano quid eruditius, quid acutius?* says St. Hierom,<sup>q</sup> who adds that his Apology, and book against the Gentiles, took in all the treasures of human learning. Vincentius<sup>r</sup> of Lire gives him this notable eulogium: "he is justly (says he) to be esteemed the prince among the writers of the Latin church. For what more learned? who more conversant both in divine and human studies? who by a strange largeness and capacity of mind had drawn all philosophy, and its several sects, the authors and abettors of heresies with all their rites and principles, and the whole circumference of history and all kind of study, within the compass of his own breast. A man of such quick and weighty parts, that there was scarce any thing which he set himself against, which he did not either pierce through with the acumen of his wit, or batter down with the strength and solidity of his arguments. Who can sufficiently commend his discourses, so thick set with troops of reasons, that whom they cannot persuade, they are ready to force to an assent? who hath almost as many sentences as words, and not more periods than victories over those whom he hath to deal with."

XIII. For his books, though time has devoured many, yet a great number still remain, and some of them written after his withdrawment from the church. His style is for the most part abrupt and haughty, and its face full of ancient wrinkles, of which Lactantius<sup>s</sup> long since gave this censure: that though he himself was skilled in all points of learning, yet his style was rugged and uneasy, and very obscure; as indeed it requires a very attentive and diligent, a sharp and sagacious understanding; yet is it lofty and masculine, and carries a kind of majestic eloquence along with it, that gives a pleasant relish to the judicious and inquisitive reader. It is deeply tinged with the

<sup>p</sup> De Script. in Tertull.

<sup>q</sup> Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. Orat. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 656.

<sup>r</sup> Commonit. adv. Hæres. c. 24.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. v. cap. 1.

African dialect, and owes not a little of its perplexedness and obscurity to his conversing so much in the writings of the Greeks, whose forms and idioms he had so made his own, that they naturally flowed into his pen; and how great a master he was of that tongue is plain, in that himself tells us,<sup>†</sup> he wrote a book concerning Baptism, and some others, in Greek: which could not but exceedingly vitiate and infect his native style, and render it less smooth, elegant, and delightful; as we see in Ammianus Marcellinus, who, being a Greek born, wrote his Roman History in Latin, in a style rough and unpleasant, and next door to barbarous. Besides, what was in itself obscure and uneven, became infinitely worse by the ignorance of succeeding ages, who changed what they did not understand, and crowded in spurious words in the room of those which were proper and natural, till they had made it look like quite another thing than what it was when it first came from under the hand of its author.

XIV. His errors and unsound opinions are frequently noted by St. Augustine and the ancients, (not to mention later censors,) and Pamelius has reduced his paradoxes to thirty one, which, together with their explications and antidotes, he has prefixed before the editions of his works. That of Montanus's being the Paraclete we noted before; and for other things relating to that sect, they are rather matters concerning order and discipline, than articles and points of faith. It cannot be denied but that he has some unwarrantable notions, common with other writers of those times, and some more peculiar to himself. But he lived in an age when the faith was yet green and tender; when the church had not publicly and solemnly defined things by explicit articles and nice propositions; when the philosophy of the schools was mainly predominant, and men ran immediately from the *stoa* and the academy to the church; when a greater latitude of opining was indulged, and good men were infinitely more solicitous about piety and a good life than about modes of speech, and how to express every thing so critically and exactly, that it should not be liable to a severe scrutiny and examination.

<sup>†</sup> De Baptism. c. 15. De Coron. c. 6.

## His Writings.

*Genuine.*

Apologeticus.  
 Ad Nationes, Libri duo.  
 De Testimonio Animæ.  
 Ad Scapulam.  
 De Spectaculis.  
 De Idololatria.  
 De Corona.  
 De Pallio.  
 De Pœnitentia.  
 De Oratione.  
 Ad Martyras.  
 De Patientia.  
 De cultu fœminarum, Libri duo.  
 Ad Uxorem, Libri duo.  
 De Virginibus Velandis.  
 Adversus Judæos.  
 De Præscriptione Hæreticorum.  
 De Baptismo.  
 Adversus Hermogenem.  
 Adversus Valentinianos.  
 De Anima.  
 De Carne Christi.  
 De Resurrectione Carnis.  
 Adversus Marcionem, Libri quinque.  
 Scorpiace.  
 Adversus Praxeam.

*Libri post Lapsum in Montanismum scripti.*

De Exhortatione Castitatis.  
 De Monogamia.  
 De fuga in Persecutione.  
 De Jejuniis.  
 De Pudicitia.

*Supposititious.**Pœmata.*

Adversus Marcionem, Libri quinque.  
 De judicio Domini.  
 Genesis.  
 Sodoma.

*Not Extant.*

De Paradiso.  
 De Spe Fidelium.  
 De Ecstasi.  
 Adversus Apollonium.  
 Adversus Apellecianos.  
 De Vestibus Aaron.  
 De Censu Animæ.

*Græce.*

De Corona.  
 De Virginibus Velandis.  
 De Baptismo.



## SECTION VII.

HIS ACTS FROM HIS GOING INTO BANISHMENT TILL THE DEATH OF  
ARSACIUS.

Chrysostom denied liberty to clear himself of the imputation of burning the church. Conveyed into Bithynia. The places designed for his exile; first Sebastea, then Cucusus in Armenia. The misery and disconsolateness of that place. The civility of the commander appointed to conduct him. His arrival at Cæsarea, and recovery from his fever. The treachery and rudeness of Pharetrius, bishop of that place. Chrysostom forced to quit that place at a dangerous season. The kindness of the people, and noble civilities done him by the lady Seleucia. Pursued by the malice of Pharetrius. The danger and trouble of his journey. The infinite kindness shewed him in his passage. His coming to Cucusus. The obligingness of his entertainment there, and the provisions made for his accommodation. His recovery into a good degree of health. The Isauri, who: their dangerous neighbourhood. The flocking of his friends to him. His employments there. His care for the propagation of Christianity in Phœnicia, and among the Goths. His last tract, *Quod nemo læditur nisi a seipso*. His letters to those that suffered for his cause. Frequent distempers return upon him. The fears he daily lived in of the Isaurian inroads.

No sooner had Chrysostom retired out of the great church at Constantinople, and delivered up himself to the officers that were to take him into custody, but he was forthwith clapped aboard a small vessel,<sup>n</sup> and together with Cyriacus and Eulysius, was carried to a place in Bithynia,<sup>o</sup> where they were kept a while, till the business of the fire could be searched into. Cyriacus and Eulysius, and the other clergy, were shortly after called to their trial, cleared and discharged; but Chrysostom was not permitted the favour of a trial, though he earnestly begged it: "Although in other things (said he) you will not give me liberty so much as to defend myself, yet let me be heard in matters that concern the church, whether I have been the author of the fire, as you give out." But this being denied him, he was constrained to prepare for his journey. The place that was first appointed for his exile was Sebastea,<sup>p</sup> but this being, it seems, thought too good a place for him, he was ordered to be carried to Cucusus, a town in the Lesser Armenia, but situate upon the confines of Cilicia, and therefore sometimes reckoned as belonging to that country:<sup>q</sup> a city which had little besides sharp air

<sup>n</sup> Sozom. l. viii. c. 22.

<sup>o</sup> Pallad. c. 10.

<sup>p</sup> Chrys. Epist. cxxi. vol. iii. p. 662. ccxxi. p. 722.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Epist. cxxv. p. 671.

and a barren soil to recommend it, hunger and hardship being the ordinary entertainments of that place, and, which was worse than all that, it was perpetually exposed to the inroads of merciless robbers, who never failed to infest it. And perhaps it is no uncharitableness to suppose, his enemies designed this town on purpose, because it had been a place whither his predecessor Paulus,<sup>r</sup> in the reign of Constantius, after much such usage as he had met with, had been banished, and where he was strangled and made away by Philip, the governor, a sworn slave to the Arian faction. This they knew could not but afford him an uncomfortable prospect; and if neither the coldness of the climate ruined his weak tottering body, nor the barbarity of thieves and robbers despatched him out of the way, yet the melancholy reflections he must needs make on so fatal a place might break his heart, and sooner at least put an end to his life. The commander, to whose care and conduct he was committed, was Theodorus,<sup>s</sup> who treated him with singular humanity and kindness, not only above his expectation, but beyond his desire; for he suffered him to want nothing that might administer to his ease or conveniency, and seemed to make the care of his person his only business. And, indeed, he had occasion for all the civility and assistance which his friends could shew him, for besides his accustomed weakness and the sickness of his stomach,<sup>t</sup> he had through the inconveniencies of a tedious and troublesome journey contracted many other distempers, especially frequent fevers, which held him for a whole month together, not a little increased by continual travelling, the heats of the day, and want of rest at night, and those necessary accommodations for a man in his condition, which these countries did not afford; so that he looked upon his condition as in effect more miserable than that of slaves that labour in the mines.

II. At Nice (whence on the third of July he wrote to Olympias,<sup>u</sup> and on the fourth, which was the day of his departure, to Constantius<sup>v</sup>) he found himself somewhat better than ordinary, the air of that place agreeing with him: but he soon relapsed, and was worse than ever. And in this uncomfortable case he continued till he came to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, his fever still

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Athan. Apol. pro fug. s. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Epist. cxx. p. 661. xiii. p. 593.

<sup>v</sup> Epist. cxxxi. p. 721.

<sup>s</sup> Epist. cxv. vol. iii. p. 657. x. p. 590.

<sup>u</sup> Epist. x. p. 590.

raging upon him. He lodged in the outparts of the city, where he might be freest from noise and crowd. And now his circumstances being so much bettered, his distemper began to abate; he was no longer tied to mouldy bread and stinking water, had the liberty to keep his bed, and sometimes the conveniency of a bath to go into; and especially had the help of the most skilful and eminent physicians,<sup>w</sup> who constantly attended his cure, and treated him with so generous a compassion, that one of them engaged to accompany him the remainder of his journey. He was indeed beheld with pity and commiseration by persons of all ranks, and visited every day,<sup>x</sup> not only by the common people, but by the magistrates, and persons of the highest place and quality, who came to offer their services, and to pay him all demonstrations of honour and respect. But these kind offices served only in the end to create him so much the more envy and trouble from some, who ought to have been most active and exemplary in kindness to him. Pharetrius was at this time bishop of that see: a man of a timorous and sordid disposition, ready to comply with any party that was uppermost, and that might save his stake. When Theophilus and his synod had deposed Chrysostom at Constantinople,<sup>y</sup> without either summons or provocation he wrote a letter to them, testifying his concurrence with their proceedings. Great expectations there were of the entertainment he would give to Chrysostom, who upon his very first arrival upon the borders of Cappadocia was told,<sup>z</sup> that Pharetrius expected him; and which way soever he went was resolved to meet him, and give him a most welcome and kind reception; and that he had prepared and excited the monasteries to do the like. But Chrysostom knew the man too well to give any credit to the report, and found things no otherwise than he expected at his coming to Cæsarea: where Pharetrius was so far from waiting upon him, or shewing him the least respect, that he set all his engines on work to hasten his departure thence. The disfavour Chrysostom was under at court, and the displeasure of a powerful faction, which all they were liable to that shewed him any kindness, and the envy he conceived at the unusual honours that were done him under his very nose, made him resolve to rid the city of his company.

<sup>w</sup> Ep. xii. p. 592.<sup>y</sup> Pallad. c. 8.<sup>x</sup> Ep. xiii. p. 593.<sup>z</sup> Ep. xiv. p. 595.



Indeed Chrysostom having recovered some measures of his health, had of himself determined to go onwards with his journey, when a sudden accident put a stop to it. For news was brought that the Isauri were fallen into these parts with a great army, and had already burnt a considerable town, and wasted all places as they came. This created no small alarm at Cæsarea; every one supposing they would forthwith besiege that place. Whereupon the tribune, with what forces he could on the sudden get together, went out to meet them; leaving the city under such apprehensions of dangers, that the very aged men were forced to watch and defend the walls. This for the present stopped his journey, and now Pharetrius thought he had a fit opportunity to vent his spleen; and having engaged the monks to his party, made use of them as instruments to effect it, which he managed thus. In the midst of this general confusion, a troop of monks came early in the morning to Chrysostom's door, threatening to fire the house, and proceed to the utmost extremities, unless he immediately left the town. The weakness of his condition, and the almost inevitable danger of the Isaurian army, might, one would think, have pleaded for him with any that had but the least sense of the necessities of human nature; but rage and passion is deaf to all the importunities either of reason or religion. Nothing would satisfy, but he must be gone; and when the magistrates came to interpose, they threatened to cudgel them; and bravingly put them in mind, that this was not the first time they had done so. The magistrates were startled, and besought Chrysostom rather to throw himself into the arms of the Isaurians, than to expose them to the mercy of these fierce wild beasts. By this time the governor of the city had notice of the riot, who came presently to the place to assist in his rescue; but they regarded neither his commands nor entreaties any more than they had done those of the inferior magistracy: so that not knowing what to do in the case, he sent to Pharetrius, to desire him to take off the monks; and that by reason of Chrysostom's sickness, and the imminent peril of the war, a few days further respite might be granted him. But neither this way did he prevail, the monks coming again the next day with more fierceness and violence: and though the presbyters and the rest of the clergy had a good mind to help him, and at his first coming had declared their readiness to com-

municate with him, and to have nothing to do with his adversaries; yet durst they not now appear, but like men ashamed hid their heads when Chrysostom sent to speak with them.

III. No importunities prevailing, though danger presented itself with an open face, and the very remains of his fever were not yet worn off, about noon he went into his horse-litter, and departed the town; the people generally flocking after him with cries and lamentations, and cursing him that had been the author of such tragical proceedings. And when some cried out, Whither is it you carry him; into the very jaws of ruin? another replied, Go, I beseech you, fall among the Isaurians, so you leave but us; for into what place soever you shall fall, you may expect to be safe, if once you get but out of our hands. Among the rest of the company was Seleucia, a pious and noble lady, wife to Rufinus, and a great honourer of Chrysostom; who observing the danger he was in, requested him to stay a while and divert himself at a country-house she had five miles out of town, sending some of her servants along with him. Pharetrius heard of it, and sent her threatening messages about it, which she generously slighted, and gave order to her steward to see that no care and diligence should be wanting; and that if the monks should come thither and make any disturbance, he should summon the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and repel them by force. Soon after she entreated him that, for his greater security against the attempts of the bishop and the monks, he would remove into a castle of hers hard by, that was fortified against any assault. But this he declined, choosing to remain where he was; till Seleucia, wearied out with Pharetrius's threatenings and incessant solicitations, was unwillingly constrained to part with her guest, which yet she concealed from him, making use of this stratagem. She caused an alarm to be raised at midnight, that the Isaurian forces were at hand; whereupon Euethius, his presbyter, went into his chamber, and hastily awaking him, told him, in great amazement, he must rise immediately and be gone, for that the Barbarians were just upon them. The good man was, we may imagine, at his wit's end; retire back into the city he durst not, to go forwards seemed to run into the mouth of destruction: but as the least of the two evils he chose the latter. So in the midst of a very dark, dismal, and tempestuous night, he set out, without any considerable guides or guards; for upon

the first alarm, most of the company had fled to save themselves. To help what might be in this case, he commanded torches to be lighted; but these Euethius would have put out again, saying, they were the ready way to give direction to the Barbarians where to find them and fall upon them. Thus they passed along in a dark night and a most rugged and stony way, till Chrysostom's mule stumbling, and throwing him and the litter to the ground, had like there to have put a period to all his sorrows. But being lifted up, and supported by Euethius, he groped his way, and crept rather than walked along the remainder of the night: in the morning they put themselves into the best posture they could, and proceeded in their journey. And certainly he had sunk under the burden of so many dangers and hardships, had he not been borne up by the conscience of his innocency, and the goodness of his cause, and that kind reception he generally met with in his passage; persons of all ages,<sup>a</sup> sexes, and qualities coming out to meet him, and testifying their deep resentment of his case by the most bitter and passionate lamentations. At his entrance upon the frontiers of Cappadocia,<sup>b</sup> and so in Tauro-Cilicia, he was met by great companies of bishops, monks, and holy virgins; who reflecting upon his hard fate, and the church's infelicity to be deprived of so excellent a prelate, burst into tears, and cried out to one another, "It were better the sun should not shine in the firmament, than that John [Chrysostom] should be silenced." And though it could not but affect him, to see his friends thus infinitely concerned for him, yet was it at the same time a secret alleviation and satisfaction to his mind.

IV. Above two months he had now been on his journey,<sup>c</sup> and had grappled with inexpressible hardships and troubles, when at last he arrived at Cucusus, the seat of his exile. Where whatever disadvantages might naturally attend the place, or how dismal soever he might have painted it in his imagination, he found it a better and more delightful scene than he had any reason to expect,<sup>d</sup> God's providence disposing things for his best conveniency. The people were exceeding kind and obliging to him, and readily attended all his occasions, so that he found no want of those many servants which he had formerly had to wait upon

<sup>a</sup> Epist. viii. p. 589. ix. p. 590.    <sup>b</sup> Epist. cxxv. p. 671.    <sup>c</sup> Epist. ccxxxiv. p. 729.

<sup>d</sup> Epist. xi. p. 591. xiii. p. 593. xiv. s. 4. p. 599. lxxxiv. p. 637.



him ; nay, it was a thing they contended for, which should be most officious to him ; they guarded his person against all attempts of danger, and every man was proud to be employed in that service. The barrenness of the soil did not hinder, but that he was plentifully furnished with all necessary provisions, and happy they that could entertain him. Dioscorus, a person of quality, understanding that he was upon his journey, sent his man on purpose as far as Cæsarea to meet him, and desire that he would think of no other lodgings than at his house. And the same invitation he had from several others ; but he accepted of that from Dioscorus, who left the place where he then dwelt, and came thither on purpose to wait upon him ; and that he might provide against the severities of that climate, he built an house on purpose for him, so contrived and ordered as might best secure him from the inconveniencies of the approaching winter ; and crowded his civilities so thick upon him, that Chrysostom was forced sometimes to chide, and almost fall out with him. Nor was Dioscorus the only kind person, several other great men writ to their stewards and tenants, commanding them to furnish him with any thing that he stood in need of. The bishop of the place was not the last in his addresses :<sup>e</sup> he supplied whatever might seem defective, if any thing could be wanting after such large and bountiful provisions, and indeed treated Chrysostom with that incomparable charity and endearment, that if he would have admitted it, he would have quitted his see, and resigned it up to him. The climate, which he had so much dreaded, agreed well with him, the clearness and purity of the air, and its temperature at that season, adding not a little to his recovery, his health returned apace, and within two days after his arrival he had perfectly worn off all the trouble and weariness of his journey. The danger of the Isauri, whom both he and his friends were so afraid of, was for that time over : for, besides that the town was well garrisoned, the Isauri were retired upon the approach of winter, not likely to return at soonest till the next summer. These Isauri were a hardy people that inhabited the country next mount Taurus, between Lycaonia and Cilicia. Infamous they were for robbery and stealing, all the villages in the country being (as Strabo notes<sup>f</sup>)

<sup>e</sup> Epist. xiv. s. 1. p. 595. cxv. p. 657. ccxxxvii. p. 732.

<sup>f</sup> Geogr. l. xii. p. 568. Vid. vet. orb. descript. Gothofred. p. 26.

ληστῶν ἅπασαι κατοικίαι, “nothing else but nests of thieves and robbers.” And though the Romans, under the conduct of P. Servilius, (who hence derived the title of Isauricus,) pretty well scoured the country, yet they recovered again, and went on still in the same lewd course and manner of life, being upon all occasions troublesome to the government, and destructive to their neighbours, upon whom they made continual inroads, spoiling and plundering whatever came to hand. It was this good man’s ill fortune, or rather the cruel policy of his enemies, to be planted near such desperate and inhuman neighbours, though at his first arrival the coast was clear, and there was no present fear of any sudden irruption to disturb his entertainment. It added not a little to his contentment, to find some of his dearest friends at this place. The lady Sabiniana, one of his deaconesses at Constantinople, came to Cucusus the very same day that he arrived; and though she was of a great age, and unfit for travel, especially in those rough and uneasy countries, yet she conquered all difficulties with a masculine spirit, and the eager desire she had to see and attend Chrysostom; and told him further, that she came with an intention to have gone with him into Scythia, whither it was confidently reported he was to be sent, and that she had fixed her resolution to await his motions, and never to desert him. Constantius also, one of his most intimate presbyters, having got his leave, was come thither to assist and serve him; not to mention those many bishops and presbyters who came thither to salute and converse with him. In short, so well was he pleased with the conveniencies of this place, that he was afraid he should not be suffered to enjoy them, especially after Olympias and some others of his friends began to make an interest at court, that he might be removed to some other place. He desires her therefore not to press this too far; if so much favour might be obtained, that it might be left to him to choose the place of his exile, and when he had done so, be permitted to continue there; or if the design was to transfer him to Cyzicum, or some port-town, or any place about Nicomedia, she should thankfully accept the grant; but if she perceived they intended to remove him to a place of the same, or a remoter distance, she should immediately obstruct it. He lived here in some tolerable ease and quiet, and was surrounded with the kindness and company of his friends; and was fearful he might

be designed for some more remote and desolate place, and dreaded the trouble and hardships of a journey (which he had so lately smarted under, and which had brought him even to death's door) worse than a thousand banishments.

V. So active a piety, as his soul was inspired with, would not suffer him to be idle, wherever he was. He preached frequently,<sup>g</sup> and to a people that greedily entertained his instructions. Nor did he feed the poor by his doctrine only, but by his charity. A grievous dearth and scarcity raged at that time in those parts, and the poor found him a common father, whose necessities he was enabled to relieve by the liberal supplies he received, as from others, so especially from his dear friend Olympias. Many that had been taken captive by the Isauri, he paid their ransom, and redeemed from a slavery worse than death itself. Nor did he confine his care and charge to any one place. He had heretofore set on foot a design of driving paganism out of Phœnicia, and by his endeavours a considerable progress had been made in it: but now, to his no little grief, he understood that it went down the wind, and that the Gentiles had made insurrection, and fallen foul upon the persons employed in it. This sad news set him again on work:<sup>h</sup> some he sent thither; to others he earnestly wrote about it, that either in their persons, or by their letters, they would excite and encourage fit persons to undertake it, and support the spirits of the monks, who had met with such ill success in that employment. And that the work might not stand still for want of money to carry it on, he took order that charges should be allowed both for the building of churches, and defraying the expenses of those who laboured in so good a work, and at every turn pressed others to be liberal upon this occasion. Nor did he forget his design of converting the Goths to Christianity,<sup>i</sup> having formerly ordained Unilas, that country man, bishop, and sent him thither, who had attempted the thing with mighty success: after whose death he now understood that Moduarius, his deacon, was come to Constantinople, with letters from the king of the Goths, requesting that another bishop might be sent amongst them. Afraid he was that the schismatical

<sup>g</sup> Pallad. c. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Epist. xxi. p. 607. li. liii. liv. lv. p. 621, etc. lxi. p. 631. cxxiii. p. 663. ccxxi. p. 722.

<sup>i</sup> Epist. xiv. s. 5. p. 600.



bishops at Constantinople would lay hold upon this occasion, and not only take upon them to consecrate a person, but such a one as should be wholly unfit for that affair. He wrote therefore in all haste to Olympias, that she would use all her interest to hinder, or at least delay it for the present; and, if possible, send Moduarius privately to him, with whom he would easily adjust that matter. What leisure hours he could spare from more public business, he employed in writing books,<sup>j</sup> especially that which was the last tract he wrote, and which he dedicated to Olympias, upon this subject, “that no man is hurt but by himself;” intending it, with respect both to her and himself, as an uncontrollable argument to submission and patience, and for that purpose wished her to peruse it every day. Nor was it a small portion of his time that was swallowed up in writing letters, the greatest part of his epistles now extant being written from this place, and sometime after his remove. But above all others, he thought it necessary for him to write to the bishops and clergy that for his sake were in prison at Chalcedon,<sup>k</sup> whom he commends for their undaunted behaviour under sufferings; beseeching them still to maintain a greatness and presence of mind suitable to the miseries they endured, and in the midst of all to concern themselves for the good of the church; assuring them, that though their care and study herein might want success, it should not want its reward at the hands of God. To the same effect he wrote a more general epistle to all the bishops,<sup>l</sup> presbyters, and deacons, that were imprisoned upon this account; that their sufferings had made them renowned and eminent through the whole world, which should not be in vain, that if their suffering were so great, what would be their reward? That they should rejoice and be glad, and quit themselves like men, and remember how many their exemplary courage and constancy had armed with patience, how many that were wavering it had confirmed, and revived their drooping spirits, the importance of it reaching beyond those who had the happiness to behold it; and that they should sustain them by a continual reflection upon that apostolic truth, that “the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.”

VI. But how pleasant soever an entertainment Cucusus might

<sup>j</sup> Niceph. l. xiii. c. 37.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. clxxiv. p. 699.

<sup>l</sup> Ext. vol. iii. p. 526.

afford this good man at his first arrival, it was not long before it appeared in its own colours, and things put on another face. The winter grew upon him,<sup>m</sup> and proved more piercing and sharp than ordinary; and though he made the best provision that warm clothes, good fires, and a close room could make against it, yet could not all this secure him from the extremity of the cold, which brought upon him rheums, coughs, and the old infirmities of his stomach, vomitings, head-ache, a nauseating of meats, and all these attended with want of rest, not getting any sleep for some nights together. These distempers brought him very low, and made him oft keep his bed, and live within a constant prospect of death, and look upon his condition, for at least two months, as far worse than that of a dying person. But the spring coming on, and the return of the sun clearing and warming the air with its gentle and benign beams, his sickness abated, and by degrees he retrieved his health, but was still forced to observe a most strict regularity in his diet, and to deal only in such sorts, and in such proportions, as his stomach was best able to digest. But, alas, the spring that restored his health, brought along with it another mischief, not much inferior to a mortal sickness. The Isauri, finding the time of the year fit for a march, made a general inroad into that country; <sup>n</sup> all ways and passages were filled with these merciless freebooters; and all fish that came to net, men, women, and children, were either killed or made slaves: you could scarce go any way, but you might behold miserable spectacles of desolation; cities sacked, houses demolished, fields loaded with heaps of slaughtered carcasses, and rivers more than dyed with blood. At Cucusus they expected to be besieged every day: a party of three hundred came suddenly upon them in a very stormy night, and passed through the city; and had they not been accidentally diverted, had seized Chrysostom, who knew nothing of the danger till the next morning. These continual frights and alarms made both him and many more oft leave the town, and betake themselves to rocks and woods, or any place that might afford a present shelter. And though he was sometimes carried into the castle, where he seemed more secure from danger, yet the tragical stories that were daily told, and the dreadful expectations of a violent storm

<sup>m</sup> Epist. vi. p. 580. vid. Epist. iv. s. 4. p. 575.

<sup>n</sup> Epist. lxviii. lxix. lxx. p. 630, etc. cxxxv. p. 679. cxl. p. 682.

or siege, took away the comfort of that security; which constrained them, towards the following winter, to remove him to a place of greater safety.

## SECTION VIII.

### HIS ACTS FROM THE DEATH OF ARSACIUS TILL HIS OWN DEATH.

The death of Arsacius, and succession of Atticus. Atticus, who. An edict commanding all to communicate with him. A fierce persecution of the Joannites at Constantinople and elsewhere. Several instances of the sufferings of particular persons. A synod convened at Rome upon Chrysostom's account. Honorius's letters to Arcadius in his behalf. Legates sent by the synod to Constantinople. Their ill voyage thither, and barbarous usage there. Chrysostom's letters to them. Chrysostom forced to shelter himself in woods and mountains. The place of his abode shewn there at this day. His removal to Arabissus, and equal dangers and inconveniencies in that place. The time of his continuance here. His last letter to pope Innocent. His enemies at court procure an order for his removal to Pityus upon the Pontic sea, and why. The great cruelties used towards him by the soldiers in this journey. His coming to Comana-Pontica. Admonished of his approaching dissolution by the vision of St. Basiliscus the martyr. His preparation for death. His last prayer, doxology, and death. The solemnity of his funeral. His age, and the time of his sitting in that see.

SIXTEEN months and some odd days Arsacius had now sat in his usurped see of Constantinople,<sup>o</sup> when he departed this life November the eleventh, anno 405. The see remained vacant (in their sense, for they looked upon Chrysostom as deposed) four months, all which time strong competitions were set on foot, and interests made for several persons, which at length centred in Atticus, a presbyter of that church. He was born at Sebastea in Armenia, and in his younger years had been educated among the monks of the Macedonian way, followers of Eustathius, and very numerous in that country, whom he afterwards deserted, and went over to the Catholics: a man rather subtle than learned, and fitter to lay a crafty plot than to dispute for and defend the faith. His sermons were mean and sapless; and though he studied hard, and continually read the ancient orators, yet he never attained any degrees of eloquence. In his conversation he was smooth and plausible, and knew how to adapt himself to the persons that he had to deal with, and to be either mild or stern, as occasion called for it; and in his highest rant could on a

<sup>o</sup> Socrat. l. vi. c. 20. l. vii. c. 2. Sozom. l. viii. c. 27.



sudden put on the contrary humour. He was a professed enemy to Chrysostom, and had been one of his prime accusers in the synod at the Oak, yea, πάσης μηχανῆς τεχνίτης,<sup>p</sup> “the man that had contrived and laid the whole plot and design against him:” which, perhaps, was one of the best qualifications that recommended him to this place; which he was no sooner possessed of, but he endeavoured to reduce the Joannites to a compliance with him. But finding that not only the bishops, but the people generally stood at a distance from him, he fled to the usual refuge in such cases, the secular arm; and knowing if the bishops were once brought in, the people would follow of course, he first procured the following edict: “If any bishop do not communicate with Theophilus, Porphyry, and Atticus, let him be deposed from his see, and deprived of all his estate.” And to strike a terror into all sorts of persons, and that the laity might not think themselves exempted, another edict was published, commanding that persons of place and dignity should forfeit their honours and offices, commanders and soldiers be cashiered, tradesmen and common people fined in considerable sums and banished. To prevent the severity of these laws, some that were rich complied, to save their estates; others that were poor, or that saw not far into the state of things, were, by large promises, drawn into communion with him. But the far greatest part stood off, and preferred the goodness of their cause before riches or honour, kindred or country, and chose rather to fly to the mountains, or to hide themselves in the remotest monasteries, or to betake themselves into foreign parts; and those that did stay, were forced to assemble in the fields, and to offer up their devotions under the open canopy of heaven.

II. Nor was it thus only at Constantinople, but almost in all other places of the East, where several bishops were banished into the most barbarous countries, and kept in common gaols.<sup>q</sup> Cyriacus, bishop of Emesa, was carried fourscore miles from his own country, and kept prisoner in a castle at Palmyra in Persia; Eulysius, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, was sent three days’ journey to Misphas, a castle of the Arabs, adjoining to the Saracens; Palladius to Syene, a town near the Blemmyes, or Ethiopians; Demetrius farther into that part of Oasis that lies next to the Mazices; Serapion, after he had undergone several accusations,

<sup>p</sup> Pallad. c. 11.

<sup>q</sup> Pallad. c. 18.

without any manner of proof, and by the command of his judges, had been shamefully abused and beaten, even to the dashing out his teeth, was commanded into his own country; Hilary, a person venerable for his age and piety, one who for eighteen years together had not eaten one bit of bread, feeding only upon roots and herbs, after he had been severely scourged by the clergy, was banished into the most disconsolate parts of Pontus; Antonius was forced to conceal himself among the rocks in Palestine; Timotheus bishop of Maronea, and John bishop of Lydia, fled into Macedonia; Rodon, a bishop in Asia, to Mitylene; Gregory, a Lydian bishop, into Phrygia; Brisso, Palladius's brother, voluntarily quitted his church, and retiring to a farm of his own, cultivated it with his own hands; Elpidius, the great bishop of Laodicea in Syria, kept himself, together with Pappus, three years together in a garret, where they gave themselves entirely to prayer; Heraclides, bishop of Ephesus, was imprisoned at Nicomedia, where he continued many years, and perhaps died there; Stephen, a monk, for no other cause but bringing letters from Rome, was kept ten months prisoner at Constantinople, where he was unmercifully handled, and after all, refusing communion, had the flesh raked off his breast and sides, which my author assures us he saw with his own eyes, and when with much difficulty cured, he was, ten months after, banished to Pelusium; a provincial soldier that belonged to the *Scholæ Palatinæ*, for being but suspected to favour Chrysostom, was subjected to various torments, and after the most bloody and barbarous raking off his flesh, was sent prisoner to Petrà. I pass by many others mentioned by my author, and only add, what he relates from the deacon that attended them, the cruel and spiteful usage that the bishops met with from the officers appointed to convey them to the several places of their exile, who treated them with that rigour and inhumanity, that made them weary of living, and to "choose death rather than life." The money they carried along with them to defray the charges of their journey, they took from them, and shared it among themselves; they set them upon the most starved and lean jades that could be gotten, and then forced them to go two days' journey in one day, brought them into their inns late at night, and hurried them thence early the next morning, so that they had scarce time to eat, and that little they did, their stomach was not able to retain. Their ears they

grated with filthy and obscene discourses; and when they came near any church, suffered them not to go into it, but drave them either into inns and bawdy-houses, or into the synagogues of Jews or Samaritans, as they more particularly did at Tarsus. The bishops of the opposite faction were, all the way, so far from shewing them the least humanity, that they hired the guards to hurry them away, and partly by bribes, partly by threatenings, spurred them on to more ruggedness and severity; and when the laity would have entertained them, they would not permit it. By this means men were frighted from all offices of kindness, though there wanted not some who durst own their cause in that evil time, especially the bishops of the Second Cappadocia, who wept with them and for them, and resented their case with a generous sympathy; in which number they who deserved most honourable mention, were Theodore bishop of Tyana, Serapion of Ostracina, who had been bishop forty-five, and Bosporius of Colonia, who had been bishop forty-eight years.

III While these things were acted in the East, the bishops were not idle in the West. Pope Innocent made a breviae of the several messages and despatches that had come, which he sent to Honorius,<sup>r</sup> who thereupon commanded a synod should be called, and the result of it sent to him. The bishops of Italy met accordingly, and agreed upon an address to the emperor, that he would write to his brother Arcadius, that a council might be convened at Thessalonica, where both the Eastern and Western bishops might conveniently meet, and constitute a synod that might nicely determine the case, not so much by the number of persons as the quality of the sentence that should be passed. The emperor consented, and desiring the synod to send by messengers of their own, wrote the following letter to Arcadius.

“ This is the third time that I have written to your clemency, requesting that the proceedings which, by a malicious combination, have been carried on against John, bishop of Constantinople, might be rectified; which it seems is not yet done. Wherefore being greatly solicitous about the peace of the church, whereby our empire is preserved quiet and peaceable, I have once more written, by these bishops and presbyters, that you would please to order the bishops of the East to meet at Thessalonica. In order whereunto, our Western bishops have made choice of persons

<sup>r</sup> Pallad. c. 3.



of unbiassed truth and integrity, five bishops, two presbyters, and one deacon of the Roman church, to come upon this errand, whom I desire you to receive with all honour and respect : that if they be satisfied that John was duly and justly deposed, I also upon their information may withdraw from communion with him ; or if they can convince the Eastern bishops that they have been knowingly guilty of evil practices in this matter, they may prevail with you to desert their communion. What opinion the Western bishops have concerning John, is evident from all the epistles that have been sent me ; whereof I have annexed two, of the same importance with the rest, one from the bishop of Rome, the other from him of Aquileia. But above all things I beseech you to take care, that Theophilus of Alexandria, who is reported to be the chief author of all these mischiefs, may, whether he will or no, be forced to appear, that so the council, meeting with no obstruction, may establish such a peace as may become the tranquillity of our reign."

This letter,<sup>s</sup> together with others from Innocent, Chromatius of Aquileia, Venerius of Milan, and the rest, were delivered to Æmilius bishop of Beneventum, Cythegius and Gaudentius, bishops, and to Valentinian and Boniface, presbyters ; with whom went Cyriacus, Demetrius, Palladius, and Eulysius, all Eastern bishops. They received likewise a memorial from the synod, which was to this effect : That Chrysostom should not be admitted to sit in council till he was restored to communion and the possession of his see ; that so all pretence of calumny being removed, he might of his own accord come in and take his place. Thus furnished with authority and instructions, they set forwards, at the public charge, in their journey to Constantinople ; but the malice of their enemies was too quick for them, for as they passed by Athens, they were detained by the tribune that commanded in those parts, who sent a centurion with them, but would not suffer them to go to Thessalonica, where they intended to deliver their letter to Anysius, bishop of the place. He divided their company, and put them aboard two small vessels ; and after a very tempestuous passage, wherein they ate nothing for three days, on the third day, about noon, they came before Constantinople, at a place near Victor's country house. Here they were stopped by the officers of the custom-house, who forced them

<sup>s</sup> Pallad. c. 4.

back, and sent them prisoners to Athyra, a castle on the coast of Thrace, where they were kept asunder, the Italians in an apartment by themselves, and Cyriacus and his company separated from one another, and that with so much strictness, that they were not permitted to have a servant to attend them. Next, their letters were demanded, which they refused to part with, saying, How can we, that are ambassadors, deliver the emperor's and the bishop's letters to any other but the emperor? Patricius, the secretary, and several others, were sent upon this errand, but to no purpose, till at length came Valerian, a sturdy Capadocian, a military commander, who rudely pressing upon them, broke the thumb of Marianus, one of the bishops then present, in the scuffle, and took away the letters by force from them. The next day came messengers from court, or at least from Atticus, who brought them three thousand pieces of money, persuading them to communicate with Atticus, and not to mention the proceedings about Chrysostom; but they rejected the motion: and finding, by their barbarous treatment, that they were like to do little good, desired that, since they could do nothing in order to peace, they might at least be suffered safely to return home. While they continued here Chrysostom wrote no less than three several letters to them,<sup>t</sup> with all due thankfulness, acknowledging their pious care and generous charity in undertaking so tedious and dangerous a voyage upon his account; a kindness for which not he only, but all the Eastern bishops were obliged to them. And to the very same purpose, and the same manner of epistles,<sup>u</sup> he wrote to the bishops that came along with them, that is, to Cyriacus and his colleagues. At length, when no arts could prevail upon them, and they still persisted in their desires to be gone, Valerian was sent to them, who clapped them aboard a rotten ship, with twenty soldiers drawn out of several regiments, and, as the report went, agreed with the master of the ship to cast the bishops away in the voyage. Having sailed a great way, they were upon the very brink of ruin, when they arrived at Lampsacus, where they changed their ship; and on the twentieth day after their setting out, reached Hydruns, a city in Calabria, whence they got to Rome; and four months after their first setting out, ended their fruitless and unfortunate embassy, not being able so much as to

<sup>t</sup> Epist. clvii. clviii. clix. p. 690, etc. vid. Ep. clx. p. 692.

<sup>u</sup> Ep. clxv. clxvi. clxvii. p. 695, etc. vid. Ep. cxlviii. p. 686.

give an account where, or in what condition Chrysostom was. As for Cyriacus, bishop of Emesa, Demetrius, Palladius, and Eulysius, the companions both of their voyage and their sufferings, and whom they left behind them in prison at Athyra, they were soon after sent into banishment; Cyriacus to Palmyra in Persia, and the rest to other places, as we have before related.

IV. The dangers to which Chrysostom was continually exposed at Cucusus, (where he had now sojourned a full year,) made him sufficiently weary of that place. The following winter he spent in shifting up and down from place to place, as they could administer to his shelter and safety; the woods and the rocks, next to God's providence, being his best security. And here I cannot but mention the relation of a modern traveller;<sup>w</sup> who, describing his journey through those parts, tells us, they came to Charliqueu, a famous town in Armenia, about two miles from which, in the midst of a plain, arises a vast rock, upon the north side whereof you ascend about nine or ten steps into a chamber, with a bed, a table, and a cupboard in it, all hewn out of the rock. Upon the west side you ascend other five or six steps that lead to a little gallery, about five or six feet long and three broad, cut also out of the rock, though of extraordinary hardness. The tradition of the Christians of that place affirms, that St. Chrysostom made this rock his retiring place; where they shew you the print of a man's body: upon which account the caravans of Christian merchants pay their devotions at this rock; the bishop of the place, attended by some priests, who have every one a taper in his hand, going and saying prayers. But I return. The holy man having shifted for himself as well as he could in the parts about Cucusus, he was removed to Arabissus,<sup>x</sup> a city also of the Lesser Armenia, as a place of greater safety against the Isaurian inroads. But though he changed the stage, the scene continued much-what the same. The barbarous people still foraged the country, and came up hither, who forced him to quit the town, and retire for sanctuary into the castle, which yet proved more sad and dismal than a prison. "Without were fightings, within were fears;" without nothing but danger threatened them at the gates, and the dreadful prospect of a wasted, burnt, and desolated country was round about them; within famine began to rage,

<sup>w</sup> J. B. Tavern. Travels, part i. c. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Epist. lxvii. p. 630. cxxx. p. 676. Pallad. c. 10.



caused by the straitness of the place, and the multitudes of people that had fled thither. And yet his own case still much worse : for, besides his share in the common calamity, he laboured under a long and dangerous sickness, which the late hard winter, and his being forced to seek protection from woods and caverns, had brought upon him ; and all this aggravated with the want of his friends, whom the infested roads and the dangers of the passage would not suffer to come at him. In these parts he continued all the summer, and the greatest part, I guess, if not the whole of the following winter, taking all opportunities of preaching about the neighbouring country, and reducing the rude and untaught people both to civility and religion. Towards the conclusion of his stay here, he wrote a letter to pope Innocent,<sup>y</sup> which being very elegant, (could it be rendered agreeable to its native language,) and one of the last that ever he wrote, we shall here insert.

“ To Innocent, Bishop of Rome, John in our Lord greeting.

“ This body of ours is indeed confined to one place, but the mind, mounted upon the wings of love, ranges throughout the world, so that though kept asunder at so vast a distance, yet are we near your piety, and converse with you every day ; while with the eyes of the soul we behold the braveness of your spirit, your sincere affection, immutable constancy, and the abundant and never-failing consolation you administer to us. For the higher the waves are carried up, the more the rocks and quick-sands that lurk underneath, the more blustering and tempestuous the storms are, so much the greater is your care and vigilance ; which neither the greatness of the way, nor length of time, nor perplexity of affairs, have made any whit more remiss or slack : but you continue to imitate the most excellent pilots, who are the most watchful when they see the waves mounted aloft, the sea begin to rage and swell, the water to flow amain into the ship, and the day hurled into a midnight darkness. For which we return you many thanks, and desire nothing more than, what to us would be the greatest pleasure and contentment, frequently to send whole packets of letters to you. But since the solitariness of this place denies us that happiness, (for not only those that come from you, but not so much as those that dwell in these

<sup>y</sup> Ext. vol. iii. p. 521.

parts can come at us, both because we are shut up in a most blind and remote corner of the world, and because thieves and robbers every where way-lay and infest the passages,) we beg that our long-continued silence may rather move your pity than provoke you to charge us with neglect : for be assured it is no contempt has made us so ; and therefore laying hold of an opportunity we have long waited for, the journey of the reverend and beloved presbyter John, and Paul the deacon, we have writ to you, and think we cannot thank you enough for that kindness and compassion you have shewn us, beyond the tenderest bowels of a father. For what in you lies, you have taken care that all things be duly reformed and rectified, all scandals and disorders removed, the churches settled in peace and a pleasant serenity ; that all things run in a proper channel, and neither the laws be subjected to contempt or force, nor the constitutions of the ancient fathers violated. But there are those that have hindered these designs from taking any effect ; and not content with what they have done heretofore, by their late attempts they have outdone the villany of their former practices. I shall not venture to set them down, the particular account whereof would exceed the limits not of an epistle only, but an history. But although they have so entangled and confounded all things, that they seem incurably disordered, and incapable of a reformation, yet, I beseech you, still endeavour to reclaim them, and not give the affair over in despair, considering of what mighty importance it would be to bring it to an happy issue ; and, indeed, in some measure the whole world is interested and concerned in this matter. The churches are wasted and brought low, the people dispersed, the clergy subdued and trampled on, the bishops banished, and the ecclesiastic canons trodden down. Once, therefore, and again, yea, and again I beseech you to use your utmost care and diligence, and the greater the storm is, let your study and endeavour be so much the more. For I have yet some hope that things may be brought to some good success ; but if not, the merciful God will however prepare a crown for the reward of your labours, and the suffering parties will receive no small comfort from the abundance of your charity. I am now in the third year of my banishment, exposed to famine, pestilence, war, continual sieges, to an incredible solitude and desolation, to death every day, and to the points of the Isaurian swords. In the midst of all which

evils, it is no little support and comfort that we have an interest in your constant and immutable affection, and freedom of addressing to you, and that we are refreshed so much by your ready and sincere charity. This is our fortress, this our security, this our calm and quiet haven, this the treasury of a thousand good things, this is our rejoicing, and the spring of infinite pleasure and delight. And if, after all, we should be driven into a more desolate corner than that wherein we now are, it is this would make us depart with a mighty consolation under all our sufferings."

This letter he delivered to the presbyter and deacon whom he mentions in it: whom by a short epistle he recommended to Proba,<sup>z</sup> a noble lady at Rome, to take care of them; as by another afterwards (if it be meant of the same despatch) he returned thanks to Juliana and the rest of her company,<sup>a</sup> for the kindness and civility of their entertainment.

V. In the close of his letter to the bishop of Rome, he intimated a suspicion of a design to remove him to a worse place; and herein he proved too true a prophet. His enemies beheld with an evil eye the great respect he met with in all places;<sup>b</sup> it vexed them to see so many flocking after him, so that Antioch seemed to be translated into Armenia, and his excellent doctrine and Christian philosophy to be brought back to Antioch. They, above all things, wished him out of the world; and because his frequent distempers, and the uncomfortableness of his abode did not make haste enough, they resolved to try whether another place would not do it. To this end, Severian of Gabala, Porphyry of Antioch, and others of that party, by their friends at court, procured an order from the emperor, commanding, under penalty, that without delay he should be removed to Pityus, the more barren and desolate place of the whole region of Tzana, and situate upon the very shore of the Pontic sea. The prætorian soldiers, appointed for his guard, used him by the way with more than ordinary ruggedness and severity, saying, they had orders so to do; plainly declaring, that if they could weary him out of his life in the journey, they expected preferment for

<sup>z</sup> Ep. clxviii. p. 696.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. clxix. p. 697.

<sup>b</sup> Pallad. c. 11. Vid. Sozom. l. viii. c. 28. Socrat. l. vi. c. 21. Theodor. l. v. c. 34. Niceph. l. xiii. c. 37.



their pains. One, indeed, had more regard to common humanity than his own interest, and privately did him all the kind offices he could. But what cruelty was wanting in him, there was another made up; a man of so ill a nature, that when addresses were made to him by the way to be kind to the holy bishop, he took them as so many injuries offered to himself, his main business being to hasten him to an untimely end. When it rained with the greatest violence, he would go on, though himself was wet to the very skin; it was a pleasure to him to travel in the extreme heat of the day, because he knew how much it would afflict the good man. When they came to any town where there was the conveniency of a bath for his refreshment, he would not suffer him to stay a minute. In this troublesome way of journeying (more cruel to him than death, and by which his body was tanned, like an apple redded in the sun, as my author expresses it) they had now spent a considerable time, and were come to Comana Pontica, (not the Comana in Armenia, as Sozomen by mistake makes it,) a city of Cappadocia at the foot of the Antitaurus, where they would not suffer him to lodge, but carried him to a place five or six miles off, the *martyrium* or oratory of St. Basiliscus, who had been sometime bishop of Comana, and, in the persecution under Maximian, suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia in Bithynia. We are told, that in the night the martyr appeared to him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother, for to-morrow we shall be together:" and that he had foretold his arrival to the presbyter that attended that place, and had bid him provide a place for our brother John, for he is coming. In confidence of, and compliance with the warning he had received, Chrysostom, the next day, requested of his guard, that he might stay there till eleven of the clock, which they churlishly denied, and hurried him out. But they had not gone four miles, when finding him extremely ill, they brought him back to the oratory. When he was come in, he called for white clothes, which he put on fasting, having stripped himself from head to foot, and bestowed those he put off upon them that attended him. Then he received the holy eucharist, and before them all made his last prayer; and having concluded with his usual doxology, "Glory be to God for all things that happen," and sealed up all with his last Amen, he stretched out himself, and gently resigned up his soul to Christ. It happened that

there was at this time thereabouts a mighty confluence of monks, holy virgins, and other pious persons from Syria, Cilicia, Pontus, and Armenia, as if they had been purposely summoned thither, all which were great mourners at his funeral. The corpse being prepared for its interment, the day was kept festival; and, like another victorious champion, he was brought to his grave, and buried in the same tomb with St. Basiliscus. He died on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, (which himself had so cheerfully borne for many years,) September 14, Ann. Chr. 407, in the fifty-second year and eighth month of his age, the third year and third month of his exile, and after he had been bishop of Constantinople nine years, six months, and sixteen days.

## SECTION IX.

### THE CHARACTER OF HIS PERSON, TEMPER, AND ENDOWMENTS.

The description of his outward shape. His natural temper choleric; how increased.

His mighty zeal for God, and passionate concernment for the truth and honour of religion. His unwearied diligence and fidelity in his episcopal charge. His impartial, resolute, and undaunted carriage towards all. His contempt of the world. His charity, and earnest pressing others to it. The charge of his not keeping hospitality considered and answered. His humility. Accused of pride, and why. The reasons of his dining alone. His natural abilities. Great learning. His talent in preaching, and peculiar excellency in expounding scripture. His expositions accounted the rule of orthodoxy. His little ostentation of secular learning. The many excellent scholars bred under him. His incomparable style, and mastery in eloquence. The character given of it by the ancients. Spurious pieces fathered upon him. The *opus imperfectum*, the issue of a Latin pen. The case of his liturgy.

HE was in his outward shape (if we may credit the description the Greek Menologies give of him) low of stature, his head big, but bald, (whence Palladius says of him,<sup>c</sup> that he had τὸ Ἐλισσαϊκὸν κρανίον, “a bald pate like Elisha,”) his forehead large but full of wrinkles, his eyes sunk deep inwards, but withal quick and amiable, his cheeks lank and hollow, his beard short and thin. It was the look of a man truly mortified to the world; one that, by the admirable strictness of his life, had subdued the flesh to the spirit, and had brought the appetites of sense in subjection to the laws of reason. He was naturally

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 10.

inclined to choler, which, as it was greatly increased by an over-rigorous abstinence, so it infused a more than ordinary briskness and activity into his temper, and made him fearlessly attempt and resolutely go on with any undertaking wherein his duty or the interest of religion was concerned. His zeal for God always transported him beyond all considerations of conveniency or danger; he was himself true to the rules of piety, and he endeavoured to make others so. The truth and honour of the Christian religion he strenuously defended against the attempts of Gentiles, on the one hand, and heretics, on the other. He wrote against them; and where arguments would not do, implored the help of the civil authority to assist in it. He was startled to find that in that broad day-light of Christianity, Phœnicia, a neighbouring country, was still overspread with the darkness of paganism and idolatry: for the conversion whereof he formed a society of zealous persons, whom he prevailed with to undertake it, and procured imperial edicts to back them; and by his own, and the charity of others, furnished out a stock to carry it on: and when the work not only stood still, but went backwards, he ceased not, even in the time of his exile, to re-enforce it, and make provision for the charges of it. He frequently silenced the blasphemies, and suppressed the insolences of the Arians, Anomœans, Marcionites, and other home-enemies to the faith, and used all kindly and probable methods to reduce them from the errors of their ways.

II. The affairs of his episcopal cure he followed with all imaginable solicitude and fidelity: he constantly attended public prayers, preached frequently, and some parts of the year, especially in Lent, every day; and when at any time detained by sickness,<sup>d</sup> was wont to account this forced silence, and absence from his people, worse than the disease itself. And no sooner was he restored to any measures of strength, but he returned to the pulpit with a kind of triumph and rejoicing, declaring he looked upon this opportunity of conversing with his beloved auditory as the sweetest accent of his health; and was as much affected and delighted with it, as men are wont to be, that after a tedious absence and a long journey are come home safe. The irregularities of his clergy, grown more loose through the incir-

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Phot. Cod. CLXXII. Vid. Chrys. Hom. in parab. dec. mill. tal. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 1.



cumspection of a mild and easy predecessor, he corrected sharply; and though it created him no little envy and opposition, he went through with it, suspending and discharging those whom persuasion and admonition would not reclaim. His reproofs were severe and impartial; he neither feared or spared the greatest, nor despised and overlooked the meanest. His generous mind was too big to be awed from the discharge of his duty; in this no interest could oblige him, from this no terrors or threatenings could affright him; wherever he espied a real and material fault, he let fly at it, and if private admonition would do no good, they were sure to hear of it in public, and that many times with tart reflections: the chief occasions that engaged the empress and the great ministers at court in so fierce and violent a persecution of him. Sometimes he would set himself to jeer men out of vice,<sup>e</sup> and ironically salute them by contrary names: the drunkard he would call a water-drinker; the covetous, poor; and the thief, gentle and merciful. Virtue, wherever it was, was sure to have its just commendation and encouragement from him: he ever valued a sober youth before an aged but intemperate person, and an old man desirous of instruction, before a conceited and illiterate youth; a poor idiot before an unlearned worldling, and a virtuous layman before an idle and lazy monk. The world he despised, and rejected all its allurements and charms; the temptation to riches had no hold upon him; he declined all preferments, and when that great dignity was cast upon him, touched not one penny of the large revenues of that church,<sup>f</sup> nor took any more of it to his own use, than what barely served for a very spare and thrifty diet. And though he stood as fair as any man to be the darling both of court, city, and country, and a little courtliness and compliance in his temper might have rendered him perhaps one of the greatest favourites of his age, yet would he not take one step out of his way to gain the highest honours or interests, no not to secure his bishopric, nor to save his life.

III. His charity kept pace with, if not rather exceeded, his other virtues. His own estate, which was very considerable, he parted with in his younger days to the uses of the poor, and the exigences of the church at Antioch; and when advanced to the see of Constantinople, he took a strict account of all those great

<sup>e</sup> Pallad. c. 19.

<sup>f</sup> Id. c. 17.

revenues, and the expenses of his family; and whatever could be spared from charges absolutely necessary, he set apart for pious and charitable uses: founding and endowing a large hospital, which he furnished with all necessary officers and attendants, and provided with all proper accommodations. The rich he was continually exciting to mercy and liberality,<sup>g</sup> and to lay aside part of their superfluous incomes, to cover the naked backs, and to refresh the hungry bowels of the poor; putting them in mind, what a mighty influence this would have upon their future accounts, and be resented by our great Lord as a kindness to himself, which he oft inculcated by repeating that sentence, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." By which means he softened the hard hearts of many, and melted down their purses into the laps of those that needed them. Indeed, he was so powerful an advocate for the poor, and pleaded their cause with so much success, that he was commonly called, *Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης*, "John the almoner." I know he stands charged for not keeping hospitality, but this was a way of living plainly repugnant to his temper,<sup>h</sup> and, as he thought, indecent both for his place and person; he could not gorge, and drink, and droll, and laugh, as they must ordinarily do that keep an open table; he conceived nothing more unreasonable, than for a person devoted to the ministries of religion, to lay aside the immediate duties of his office, and employ himself in overlooking the cook's bills of fare, and examining how things went in the kitchen, which was for a doctor to commence cook; and therefore, when blamed for it, answered, "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables, who are to give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." Such kind of expenses he thought were much fittier placed upon the poor, and that it was a kind of sacrilege to withdraw it from that use, and throw it away upon trencher-guests and luxurious companions. Besides, Constantinople was infinitely populous, and a place given to feasts and entertainments, (a thing frequently laid to their charge by pagan writers,<sup>i</sup>) and he could not entertain some, without giving way to all; a thing which he could not reflect upon without amazement and horror. But

<sup>g</sup> Geo. Alex. vit. Chrys. c. 22.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Pallad. c. 12.

<sup>i</sup> Liban. de templ. p. 22. de vit. sua, p. 66. Eunap. in *Ædes*. p. 36. aliique.

for a fuller apology herein, I refer the reader to Palladius. But though he disliked this kind of hospitality, yet was he very ready to entertain strangers; such especially as were devoted to the severer exercises of religion. To this he earnestly pressed others, minding them who had said, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in;" and that by this kind of hospitality some had "entertained angels unawares." His humility was exemplary in the midst of his incomparable accomplishments, and the honours and dignities he enjoyed; he was a perfect enemy to all unnecessary pomp and vanity, insomuch that many who were wont to come to church, or to go to the bath or the forum with a vast and pompous retinue, by his example and persuasion were brought to go attended with no more than one or two servants. He loved not the very shadow of flattery and applause. When the people many times entertained his eloquent sermons with shouts and acclamations, with stamping, and other expressions of delight and satisfaction, (according to the humour of that and all foregoing ages,) he would stop and check them;<sup>k</sup> that this was to turn the church into a theatre; that he utterly disliked such commendations; that the best praise they could give him, was to do as he taught them; and not to applaud his sermons, but to practise them. It is true, he was commonly challenged for being proud,<sup>l</sup> for besides the natural gravity and austerity of his temper, he always used to dine alone; which was looked upon as no mean instance of his pride and haughtiness, whenas in truth he did it upon these accounts. First, because, by reason of his customary head-ache, he drank no wine; which, in those parts especially, rendered him less fit for table-converse and company. Secondly, his stomach was extremely weak, and so infirm and out of order, that the very smell and sight of some meats was offensive to him; and oftentimes he could not bear the dishes provided for him, but was forced to stay till others could be made ready: which proceeded not from the vicious niceness of his palate, but the incurable infirmity of his stomach. Thirdly, when engaged hard at his studies, or wrapped up in divine contemplation, or taken up with ecclesiastic

<sup>k</sup> Hom. ii. ad pop. Antioch. s. 4. vol. ii. p. 25. Hom. vii. s. 5. p. 90. De Incompreh. Dei. nat. Hom. iv. s. 5. vol. i. p. 477. Hom. xvii. in Matth. s. 7. vol. vii. p. 232. et alibi sæpius.

<sup>l</sup> Pallad. c. 19. et c. 12. Secret. l. vi. c. 4.



affairs, he would many times lapse the usual times of dining, and eat nothing till the evening: which were the true causes why he chose to eat alone. The truth is, his whole life was in effect a continued fast; he having from his younger years so accustomed himself to the utmost severities of abstinence and mortification, that he had irreparably wasted his stomach, and rendered it almost irreconcilable to any ordinary food, and so far weakened nature, that no arts of physic were able to retrieve his health; having thereby laid the foundation of those frequent infirmities and distempers that haunted him to his dying day.

IV. Nature had enriched him with very exquisite abilities and endowments; a clear apprehension, prompt wit, acute reasoning, pregnant invention; and all these attended with a nimble and ready utterance, and an apt way of expressing his conceptions. Notions flowed quick into his imagination, and found words ready to clothe and dress them up in their proper shapes; as will be very evident to any that shall peruse his extempore orations, where there could be no place for premeditation. His juvenile education, under the best masters of that age, had laid in a sufficient stock of learning and philosophy, though he had not occasion to make use of it. For after he had a very little time served the forum, he went early over to the study of theology, to which he applied himself under the conduct of Miletius bishop of Antioch, Eusebius, and Diodorus; who governed the monasteries in those parts, and were both bishops afterwards. He set himself with all possible seriousness and industry to read and understand the holy scriptures, which he afterwards so largely and accurately explained; and above all peculiarly studied St. Paul's 'epistles, which he seldom laid out of his hand: and indeed there seems to have been a more peculiar conformity of genius and temper between that great apostle and this excellent prelate. Having thus ransacked the sacred treasures, and carried away a noble furniture of divine learning, he gave up himself almost entirely to preaching and instructing others. A province he managed, with that clearness and perspicuity, that force and evidence, that freedom and smartness, and yet with that temper and sweetness, that in the whole train of ancient fathers none went beyond him, and few came near him. The scriptures he expounded very naturally, and in the obvious and literal sense; a happy talent almost pe-

culiar to him: the main humour of those ages being to wire-draw scripture into allegories, and to make witty allusions, and pick out mystical and far-fetched expositions, which were never intended, and when found out, served to little or no use or purpose. In all his expository homilies, he takes the plain sense that naturally offers itself, which he opens, and illustrates with some short and pithy remarks, and then (which is his application) concludes with a τὸ ἡθικὸν, "some general exhortation;" not always adapted to his preceding discourse, but prosecuted upon some moral argument of great advantage to his auditory. And indeed so happy a talent had he in expounding scripture, that an ancient writer assures us,<sup>m</sup> that his judgment herein was accounted the common standard of the church; insomuch that although all the rest of the fathers unanimously concurred in the exposition of any one place, yet if his sense differed from it, his exposition was immediately chosen and preferred before, yea, against all the rest. And this he tells us had been, and still was the custom and practice of the church in his time. He reproves vice with great impartiality, and with severe censures, and yet conveys his reproofs with that sweetness and tenderness, those soft and elegant insinuations, that they made their way without any difficulty into the minds of his hearers; and the most obstinate offenders could not but love and kiss the hand that chastised them, his discourses at once administering both profit and delight. Though master of a great deal of secular learning, he makes no ostentation of it; but though it be not ordinarily discernible, yet it gave his discourses a better relish, like generous wine mixed with water, (as Erasmus wittily represents it,) where though the taste and colour of the water cannot be distinguished, yet it makes the wine drink more pleasant and delightful. It adds not a little to the reputation of his learning, that he bred such a race of excellent men, who were his scholars; men famous both for the contemplative and practical philosophy of Christianity: such were Palladius bishop of Hellenople, Isidore the Pelusiote, Nilus, Marke, and Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, and many more, who accounted it their honour, as it was their interest, to have been brought up under such a tutor.

V. The vein of oratory, which he learnt in the school of Li-

<sup>m</sup> Ἀγωνύμ. βίος Χρυσσος. κεφ. λζ'. ap. Savil. vol. viii. p. 318.

banius, he brought with him into the church; where he employed it to the use of the present, and the admiration of all future ages. His style is clear, chaste, easy, and elegant; his conceptions flow in the most apt, familiar, and intelligible expressions; though, whenever his argument required it, or his leisure permitted it, he could clothe his mind with a more accurate eloquence: witness his elaborate compositions while he was at Antioch, where he enjoyed ease, and more calm and retired thoughts than he did afterwards. If to him it was that the epistle of Libanius was written,<sup>n</sup> how highly did the great man admire but one of his orations, and that too one of his very first attempts, reading it before some master-orators, who entertained it with shouts, and leaping, and acclamations, and all other demonstrations of astonishment and admiration. And Isidore of Pelusium infers from it, that, according to Plutarch's rule, who makes facility and perspicuity the standards of true Attic eloquence, Chrysostom must needs carry the crown from all the rest, who in the purity of Attic words, and in the clearness and perspicuity of his expressions, excels all others. Suidas says,<sup>o</sup> that no man in any age was master of such a copiousness and plenty of words, which ran from him with a fluency beyond the cataracts of Nile. And one of his successors in the see of Constantinople,<sup>p</sup> infinitely commends the sweetness of his eloquence, the profoundness of his notions, the height, clearness, and inexpressible lusciousness of his discourses, the power and persuasiveness of his rhetoric, the strange impetus and nervous efficacy that attends his reasonings, in comparison whereof the most celebrated orators of Greece were but children to him: his admirable explanation of scripture, moral discourses and exhortations, explications of the rites of the venerable sacraments, panegyrics in celebration of the memory of holy fathers and martyrs; to give a particular account of each of which, he tells us, were as vain an attempt, as to try to crowd the Atlantic ocean into a cup, or to measure the Nile by a pint-pot, or to unlade and exhaust Euphrates. It was this admirable faculty endeared him to those, and has since rendered him venerable to all succeeding times, and first fixed the title of Chrysostom, or the "golden-mouthed" father, upon him; though it does not ap-

<sup>n</sup> Ap. Isid. Pel. l. ii. ep. 42.

<sup>o</sup> In voc. Ἰωδωννς.

<sup>p</sup> Philoth. Orat. in Bas. Gregor. et Chrys. vol. ii. bibl. patr. Gr. Lat. p. 329. ed. 1624.



pear, that that title was given to him till an age or two after his death. His books and discourses, whether penned by him, or taken from his mouth by notaries, are as numerous as they are excellent. Nicephorus tells us,<sup>a</sup> he had read above a thousand of them, having been trained up in them from his childhood; and that what learning he had, he owed it entirely to them. Among them Suidas gives the first place for learning, sublimeness, and elegance to his six books *de Sacerdotio*; next these, to his Exposition of the Psalms, and his Commentaries upon the Four Evangelists. The rest, he tells us, are *sans* number, and that to recount them is not the work of a man, but of an omniscient being. Indeed, there are still extant more of his writings than any two of the Greek fathers put together. And yet time has robbed us of many others, for he entirely explained the holy scriptures,<sup>r</sup> many of which commentaries are wanting at this day. And among other of his writings that have miscarried, no doubt are many of his epistles, the greatest part of those that remain, (they are in all to the number of about 255,) being written in the time of his exile, during the three last years of his life. One famous epistle of his there is, but as yet shamefully suppressed, we may be sure out of no good design; I mean his epistle to Cæsarius the monk, (cited by some of the ancients,) against the heresy of Apollinaris, wherein is a most express and irrefragable testimony against the doctrine of transubstantiation. A very old version of this epistle (for the Greek, it is much doubted whether it be any where extant) was first produced in these latter ages by Peter Martyr, and by him laid up in the library of archbishop Cranmer, upon whose apprehension and martyrdom it was seized upon, together with the rest of his study, and despatched out of the way. And thus the thing slept, till within these few years, when Monsieur Bigotius, a learned gentleman of Paris, met with the old copy (being the same whence Peter Martyr had taken his) in a library belonging to a convent at Florence, transcribed and printed it, together with a preface, intending to publish it at the end of Palladius's Life of Chrysostom. But the zealots of that church were aware of it, and dreading the consequence of so home an authority against one of their most beloved and important articles, arrested both the preface and epistle, and clapped them under hatches,

<sup>a</sup> Lib. xiii. c. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Cassiod. div. Lect. præf. Suid. loc. cit.

just when ready to come abroad. So natural is it for "every one that doth evil to hate the light, and not to come to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd." Against so dishonest and fraudulent a piece of artifice, a learned French protestant has exhibited a just complaint to the world, in a late expostulatory preface to a piece of Anastasius Sinaita.<sup>s</sup> But enough of that. The fame of so illustrious a person has brought upon him the common fate, to have many spurious pieces, considerably more than any of the fathers of the Greek church, fathered upon him, among which I especially reckon the *Opus imperfectum* upon St. Matthew: an ancient piece, I grant, and done by a learned hand, but plainly infected with a tang of Arianism, and some other heresies; so far from being Chrysostom's, that it is probably thought to have been done by some writer of the Latin church. Nor have any footsteps of the Greek ever yet been heard of, so strangely was Possevine out,<sup>t</sup> when he affirms, that it has been often published in Greek and Latin. The case of his liturgy I conceive to be much the same with that of St. Basil: it was composed by him for the use of the church of Constantinople, and contracted into somewhat a narrower compass than that of St. Basil, but has undergone the same lot, to be enlarged and interpolated according to the humour of the ages and persons whose hands it has passed through, and thence have proceeded the various readings, and very different copies of it still extant. However, it is highly honoured by the Eastern Christians, and is the liturgy ordinarily used by the Greek church at this day.

## SECTION X.

### PASSAGES RELATING TO CHRYSOSTOM THAT HAPPENED AFTER HIS DEATH.

Pope Innocent's letter to Arcadius, and suspension of him from communion. Honorius's severe letter to Arcadius. Arcadius's repentance, humiliation, and absolution. Vengeance overtaking St. Chrysostom's adversaries. The miserable end of the empress Eudoxia. The death of Arcadius in the flower of his age. The pains, torments, and deaths of many others of his persecutors. The death of Theophilus of Alexandria, when and how. Chrysostom's name first restored to the Diptychs by Alexander

<sup>s</sup> Edit. Lond. 1682.

<sup>t</sup> Appar. Sac. in. Joh. Chrys. p. 355.

bishop of Antioch. The like done afterwards by Atticus at Constantinople. Atticus's letter to Cyril of Alexandria about that matter. Cyril's sharp answer to Atticus. Cyril's prejudices against Chrysostom, how taken off. He is reconciled to his memory. St. Chrysostom's remains, when and by whom removed from Comana to Constantinople. The great pomp and solemnity of that translation. St. Chrysostom's writings enumerated.

THE news of St. Chrysostom's death was carried to Rome, to the unspeakable grief of pope Innocent, and all good men that heard of it. And now Innocent gave over all hopes of doing any good by fair means, and resolved to proceed to censures, and to separate both the emperor and his lady from all Christian communion, which he did by a letter to Arcadius,<sup>u</sup> (recorded by the middle, and later writers of the church;) wherein he tells him, "that the voice of his brother John's blood cried to God against him, as once that of righteous Abel did against his murdered brother Cain, and should be certainly required; that he had not only done this, but in a time of peace had raised a persecution against the church and ministers of God, and had, without any legal process, deposed the great doctor of the world, and in him had persecuted Christ himself. Which he complained of, not for his sake who was happy, but in compassion to them who were engaged in it, and those who suffered in so great loss; not only the church of Constantinople, but all the churches in the world being hereby deprived of so divine and eloquent a person, and that by the insinuations of a woman, who should shortly receive a deserved vengeance, a second Dalilah, who had ruined his strength, and made this weighty addition to all his other guilts. For all which causes he separated him and her from all communion of the holy and undefiled mysteries, and all bishops and clergymen that should presume to administer the sacrament to them; that he abrogated Arsacius's authority, though dead and gone, whose name he forbade to be entered into the holy Diptychs, together with all the bishops that had communicated with him. And for Theophilus, besides his deposition, he added his excommunication, and utter alienation from the Christian religion." Honorius the emperor wrote likewise to Arcadius,<sup>v</sup> to let him know, he wondered what wicked and diabolical power had prevailed with him to resign up himself to a woman, and to act such things, which no religious

<sup>u</sup> Ext. ap. Glyc. Annal. P. iv. p. 259. edit. Par. Niceph. l. xiii. c. 34. et in jure Græc. Rom. vol. i. l. 9.

<sup>v</sup> Ext. ejus litera in jure Græc. Rom. ib.



Christian emperor had ever done before him. Then he puts him in mind of what had been done, concluding, that he should not study by words, but actions, and the real reformation of what was amiss, to give satisfaction to God and men, being assured that the prayers of the priests were the best direction and security to the empire. Arcadius awakened with these home-admonitions, his conscience brought him to repentance, which he testified in a letter in answer to that of pope Innocent,<sup>x</sup> (handed to us by the same authority, for indeed the more ancient writers make no mention of them,) wherein he pleads, that he was not conscious to what had been done, but the guilt must lie at the door of those wretched bishops, who under pretence of ecclesiastical canons had done it, and taken the blame upon their own heads, whose unjust suggestions he confesses he had assented to. That for Acacius, Severian, Theophilus, and the rest, they should be brought to account; and for the empress, he had already sufficiently chastised her, the grief whereof had brought her into a dangerous sickness, which she now lay under: he desired him therefore not to proceed further in the sentence, God himself never punishing twice for one fault. It is added,<sup>y</sup> to make the story complete, that upon the receipt of this letter, Innocent accepted Arcadius's ingenuous confession, and sent him a sentence of absolution.

II. But whether Arcadius's repentance were sincere or not, it was not long before the divine justice overtook those who had been the chief authors and actors in this fatal tragedy. And first the empress Eudoxia, who, like the master-wheel, had put all the springs in motion, within three months after Chrysostom's death,<sup>z</sup> fell in labour; but the child being dead in the womb, putrefied there, and put her to infinite torment, which soon after ended her miserable life. There are that add,<sup>a</sup> that she was eaten up of worms, and that the urn whereinto she was put was seen to stir. I know Socrates,<sup>b</sup> and out of him Marcellinus,<sup>c</sup> places her death anno 404, three years before this; but besides the authority of the forementioned letters, which speak her alive when they were written, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the Greek writers generally, tell us, she died not till near three months after

<sup>x</sup> Ext. locis supra citatis.

<sup>z</sup> Zonar. Annal. l. xiii. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. vi. c. 19.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Glyc. Annal. P. iv. p. 260. edit. Par.

<sup>a</sup> Niceph. l. xiii. c. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. ad Ann. 404.

Chrysostom's decease. Nor is it contemptible what Baronius observes to this purpose, that had she died so long before Chrysostom, Palladius would not have failed to have mentioned it, where he speaks of the remarkable punishments inflicted upon Chrysostom's persecutors. But whatever becomes of the time of Eudoxia's death, (the manner whereof, if as above related, seems to carry some more immediate signatures of a divine vengeance along with it,) it is certain, that not many months after Chrysostom's decease, died Arcadius himself, cut off in the prime and strength of his age, being then but thirty-one years old. Arsacius, the immediate intruder, was taken away within fourteen months. Cyrinus, bishop of Chalcedon, upon no greater an accident than Maruthas's treading on his foot, fell mortally sick, his foot gangrened, and was forced to be cut off, and after that the other, which not stopping the spreading malignity of the distemper, he died under the most acute misery and torment. Antiochus and Severian came to ill and untimely ends. Others were seized with lingering fevers,<sup>d</sup> or intolerable calentures, or pains in their bowels. Some died of the dropsy, or the gout arrested and tortured those very fingers that had subscribed his condemnation. Some were taken with tumours or inflammations in the bowels, and a stinking putrefaction breaking out of their bodies, bred worms and vermin; others with a difficulty of breathing, and a distension of all their parts; while others, haunted at night with dreadful imaginations, ran out and howled, fancying themselves dogs; or ran out with drawn swords in their hands, as if going to encounter an enemy. One of them falling from his horse, broke his right leg, and died immediately. Another, having lost his speech, kept his bed in a languishing condition eight months together, not able all the time to lift his hand to his mouth. Another had his tongue swelled within his mouth through the violence of a fever, which not being able to discharge the office of nature, he called for a table-book, and writ a confession with his own hand. So remarkable, many times so public and exemplary, are the scenes of divine justice, that every one that runs may read it, "So that a man shall say, Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth."

III. Nor did Theophilus of Alexandria survive Chrysostom above five years, dying of a kind of lethargic distemper, or, as

<sup>d</sup> Pallad. c. 17.

others say, of the stone, anno 412. And if what Damascene,<sup>e</sup> out of a book of Isidore the deacon, reports, be true, though he lay at the point of death, yet could he not expire till he had caused Chrysostom's picture to be brought, and had done reverence to it. After his decease, Chrysostom's cause revived, and gained ground apace. It had, indeed, been set on foot soon after his death: for Porphyry, bishop of Antioch, one of his mortal adversaries, dying the year after, Alexander succeeded in that see: an eloquent man, and of a severe life, having been educated in the monastic way. Upon his consecration, he sent for letters of communion to Rome,<sup>f</sup> (as the custom then was to send to all the great churches upon a new bishop's ordination,) which pope Innocent promised to grant, provided he would restore Chrysostom's name to the Diptychs, (these were ecclesiastic tables, consisting usually of two folds, on the one side the names of the living, on the other side those of the dead were written; out of which they were read, and solemnly commemorated at their public prayers, to shew the great respect they had for them, and the communion they held with them.) Alexander readily complied with the proposal,<sup>g</sup> and inserted his name into the church-tables; and not only so, but wrote to other bishops, and especially to Atticus of Constantinople, and to the emperor himself, to do the like. But he dying a few years after, the people compelled Theodotus,<sup>h</sup> who succeeded, to do as his predecessor had done before him. Of this violence, Acacius, bishop of Berœa, who had been a prime stickler against Chrysostom, (though he had lately borne Innocent in hand with compliance in this matter,<sup>i</sup>) complained to Atticus, and desired he would pass by what was done only through force and necessity. The presbyter that carried the letter talked openly at Constantinople concerning the importance of his message, whereat the people began to grow in a rage, and Atticus, fearing an uproar might ensue, went to court to advise with the emperor about it. The emperor told him, he saw no great inconvenience, if for peace and quietness sake a dead man's name was put into the catalogue; so he did it accordingly: an account whereof he sent in a letter to Cyril, who had lately succeeded his uncle

<sup>e</sup> De Imag. Orat. iii. inter prisc. patr. testim. vol. i. p. 385. ed. 1712.

<sup>f</sup> Innocent. Ep. xiv. Conc. vol. iv. p. 32. ed. reg. xvii. (ad Alex. Antioch.) *ibid.* p. 35.

<sup>g</sup> Niceph. l. xiv. c. 25.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Attic. Ep. ad Cyrill. ap. Niceph. *ibid.* c. 26.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Innoc. Ep. xix. (ad Acac.) Conc. vol. iv. p. 39. ed. reg.



Theophilus in the see of Alexandria, wherein he laid before him a relation of what had passed in this matter, and the reason that had induced him to it; having inserted his name, not as one that died a bishop, but as one that sometime had been so, and whose name challenged a commemoration in order to peace and unity; assuring him he had done nothing herein contrary to the ecclesiastic canons, and desiring him, for uniformity, to take order that it should be so done through all the churches in Egypt. He wrote likewise,<sup>k</sup> at the same time, to Peter and Ædesius, deacons of Alexandria, who had been lately resident at Constantinople, and knew what had passed, and were able to give a satisfactory account of it; whose prudent management of things he liked so well beyond those who had been sent in their room, that he requested to hasten their return thither. But Cyril, by means of his education under Theophilus, had drunk in too deep a prejudice against Chrysostom to be easily reconciled to this affair, and, besides, thought the credit of his uncle highly concerned in it. He wrote, therefore, a large and sharp answer to Atticus:<sup>l</sup> “wherein he remonstrated the great imprudence and inconvenience of what had been done; that whatever might be pretended, he was certainly informed, that he had inserted Chrysostom’s name, not in the lay, but episcopal part of the *Diptychs*; and had violated the honour and authority of the Nicene council, according to which the other had been deposed, and was fallen from his episcopal place and station, and could not be restored without a mighty injury to all bishops in the world, who must needs reckon themselves affronted by it, and it became a wise and good man to prevent such inconveniencies: that he had gained little or nothing by it; the greatest and best part of the church were his already, and herein he only obliged, to his prejudice, a perverse inconsiderable party, who would never take the just measures of themselves: now whom was it most reasonable to gratify in this matter, the best and greatest, or the worst and smallest number? If, therefore, he would preserve peace, and do right, he must undo what he had done, and strike the name out of the episcopal roll; and however this might displease a few, yet being perverse and obstinate, they were better lost than kept; to level the episcopal with the laical dignity, being the ready way not to establish union, but to introduce

<sup>k</sup> Ext. Epist. ap. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Ext. *ibid.* c. 27.

confusion into the church: that though some of the Eastern bishops might have been imposed on by Alexander's confident persuasion, yet that was a fault that needed reformation; and he should rather imitate Theodotus, who was troubled at the force that had been used to him in this case, and begged advice which way he might be freed from it. It seemed strange to him, that when Alexander, with all his eloquence, could prevail with but a few, that one obscure messenger should be able to blow up a whole multitude at once, and that in a cause so long laid asleep. That he said all this, not to triumph over a dead man, or that he took pleasure in the evils that befell another, but his compassion was to be over-ruled for the good of the church, whose canons he held in the first place of esteem and value; and since these two cases could not stand together, the ecclesiastic constitutions should take place, and he who was no bishop should be thrown out of the episcopal Diptychs. This was the way to unite the church, to settle concord and unanimity, and for all others to preserve a pure and unspotted communion with him; that therefore he should not value a single man, and adhere to such a person, before so many yet alive, and especially before his submission to the rules and constitutions of the church."

IV. What Atticus thought of this letter, does not appear. It is plain what a mighty prejudice Cyril had conceived against the memory of this good man; nay, by some he is said to have proceeded so far, as to burn and destroy Chrysostom's writings. But these heats held not long. Cyril, though a man of like passions with others,<sup>m</sup> was yet of an honest mind. Several dealt with him about this controversy, but none more effectually than Isidore the Pelusiot, who plied him sometimes with powerful arguments, sometimes with reproofs and admonitions, till he gave up the cause. We are told, moreover, that he had a dream, or vision, wherein Chrysostom, attended with a celestial guard and glorious retinue, seemed to drive him out of the church, while the blessed Virgin importuned Chrysostom that he might continue there. But this, no doubt, was the addition of after-ages, when superstition began to govern all. However, Cyril repented of his rash and imprudent zeal against Chrysostom, and was heartily reconciled to his memory. To which end he

<sup>m</sup> Niceph. l. xiv. c. 26.

summoned a provincial synod, by whose authority Chrysostom's name was unanimously restored to the Diptychs, whose example herein was followed by the prelates of all the greater churches, and his name, after this cloud, brake out with a far brighter lustre.

V. But although matters seemed now wholly composed and quieted, yet the Joannites still kept up their separate assemblies, till Proclus, being advanced to the see of Constantinople, put a final period to the schism. It was now the entrance of the year 438,<sup>n</sup> and the thirty-fifth from Chrysostom's being deposed, when, upon his anniversary commemoration, Proclus made a panegyric to his memory, wherewith his auditors were so inflamed, that they besought the bishop, that he would forthwith intercede with the emperor, that the good man's remains might at length be brought home with a pomp suitable to the merits of so great a person. Theodosius the Younger was then emperor, a prince of incomparable sweetness and piety, who was Chrysostom's god-son, and with that argument, among others, Proclus urged him. The petition was soon granted, and persons of quality were sent to Comana in Cappadocia; who took up the coffin, which they carried to the mouth of the Propontis, where the emperor's galley was ready to receive it, attended with such vast numbers of boats and vessels, that the sea seemed once more to be covered with them. No sooner was the corpse brought aboard, but a terrible storm arose, that dispersed the fleet, and drove the galley just over-against the widow's vineyard, which had been the first occasion of Chrysostom's falling under the disfavour of the empress Eudoxia. Here (says the story) it stopped, and the tempest ceased, and the fleet again getting together, pursued their voyage, till they arrived at the city. The body they first landed at St. Thomas's church, then removed it to that of St. Irene; whence, attended with an infinite throng, and all possible demonstrations of pomp and honour, it was in the emperor's own chariot carried to the place of its repose, the church of the Apostles. Here the good emperor, accompanied by his virgin sisters, persons of admirable strictness and devotion, came to the corpse, and covering the

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. vii. c. 45. Theodor. l. v. c. 36. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 43. Com. Vestiar. Orat. de transl. S. Chrysostom. ap. Baron. ad Ann. 438. Vid. Theod. Lect. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. s. 64. ad fin.



coffin with his imperial cloak, put his eyes and forehead to it, and heavily bewailed the wrong that his parents had done the holy man. The divine offices being completed, they proceeded to his interment at the foot of the communion-table, the bishops then present helping him into the grave with their own hands. This ceremony was performed January 27, anno 438, and has been ever since kept sacred to his memory. Thus, after all the envy and malice of men against him, "God brought forth his righteousness as the light, and his judgment as noon-day;" and shewed, that however oppressed for a while, "the memory of the just shall be blessed, and his name be had in everlasting remembrance."

## His Writings.\*

## Tom. I.

Ad populum Antiochenum de statuis Homiliæ 21.  
 De similitate, sive ira, Homilia.  
 In eos, qui novilunia observant.  
 De Christi baptismo.  
 De diabolo tentatore.  
 De Incomprehensibili dei natura adv. Anomæos, Homiliæ sex.  
 De beato Philogonio.  
 De Consubstantiali.  
 De petitione filiorum Zebedæi.  
 Adversus Judæos, libri sex.  
 De SS. Juventino et Maximo.  
 De S. Pelagia Virgine.  
 In S. Ignatium Episcopum Antioch. Oratio.  
 De S. Romano Martyre, Orationes duæ.  
 De nativitate Machabæorum, Orationes duæ.  
 De S. Meletio Antiocheno.  
 De S. Luciano martyre.  
 De S. Juliano martyre.  
 De SS. Berenice et Prosdoce.  
 De S. Eustathio Antiocheno.  
 De pœnitentia, Homiliæ sex.

De S. Babyla martyre.

Contra Gentiles, seu de vita Babylæ, Liber unus.

Catechesis ad Illuminandos.

De Fato et Providentia, Orationes sex.

De Precatione, Homiliæ duæ.

In SS. Petrum Apostolum, et Eliam prophetam.

Encomium martyrum Ægyptiorum.

De S. Phoca martyre.

De S. Thecla virgine et protomartyre.

De S. Barlaam martyre.

De SS. Martyribus totius Orbis.

De beato Abraham.

De Anathemate.

De Pœnitentia et continentia.

## Tom. II.

In Genesim, Homiliæ 67.

In varia Genescos loca, Sermones novem.

De Anna matre Samuelis, Sermones quinque.

De Davide et Saule, Homiliæ tres.

Contra ignaviam.

Sermo in Joseph de continentia, Lat.

\* In enumerandis D. Chrysostomi scriptis ordinem editionis Parisiens. Morellianæ sequuti sumus. [The order of Chrysostom's works given in the above edition, is retained, notwithstanding that the references are now made to the Benedictine edition; for inasmuch as the page and volume of the latter edition are generally specified in these volumes, the reader will, by retaining the present order, have in some measure the advantage of a reference to two editions instead of one. The same observation will apply equally to the lists of writings of other fathers.—ED.]

Homilia in regressu Johannis de Asia.  
 Hom. Quum Saturninus et Aurelianus acti  
 essent in exilium, et Gainas egressus est  
 de civitate.  
 De recipiendo Severiano.  
 Homilia post reditum a priori exilio.  
 De Canticis Davidicis.  
 Ad Neophytos, Homilia.

## TOM. III.

Collectio expositionum in sexaginta Psalmos  
 Davidicos.  
 In Esaïam prophetam, Enarratio.  
 In locum Psalmi xlv. "Astitit Regina,"  
 etc.  
 In locum Psalmi xlviii. "Ne timueris cum  
 dives," etc.  
 In eundem locum, et de eleemosyna.  
 In loc. Psalmi cxlv. "Lauda Anima mea,"  
 etc.  
 In loc. Esaïæ, "Vidi Dominum sedentem,"  
 Homiliæ quinque.  
 In Seraphim.  
 De verbis Esaïæ, "Ego Dominus feci  
 lumen."  
 In loc. Hieremiæ, "Non est in homine via."  
 De prophetiarum et V. Test. obscuritate,  
 Homiliæ duæ.  
 In Psalmum xiii. Homilia.  
 In Psalmum l. Homiliæ duæ.  
 In Psalmum li.  
 In Psalmum xcv.  
 In Psalmum c.

## TOM. IV.

De Sacerdotio, Libri sex.  
 De compunctione cordis ad Demetrium.  
 Ad Stelechium de eodem argumento.  
 De providentia Dei, ad Stagirium mona-  
 chum, Libri tres.  
 Quod regulares fœminæ viris cohabitare non  
 debent.  
 In eos qui sorores adoptivas habent.  
 De Virginitate.  
 Adv. vitæ Monasticæ vituperatores, Libri  
 tres.  
 Comparatio Regis et monachi.  
 Ad viduam juniorem, Libri duo.  
 In Eutropium Eunuchum Sermo.  
 Quod nemo læditur nisi a seipso, Liber.  
 Liturgia: Sed interpolata.

De pœnitentia.  
 Ad Theodorum lapsum, Paræneses duæ.  
 Ad Innocentium, Epistolæ duæ.  
 Ad Episcopos in carcere inclusos, Epistola.  
 Ad Olympiadem, Epistolæ 17.  
 Ad diversos, Epistolæ 235.  
 Sermo cum esset presbyter designatus.  
 Antequam iret in exilium, Sermo.  
 Sermo post reditum ab exilio.

## TOM. V.

In parabolam decem millium debitoris.  
 De Lazaro, Sermones sex.  
 In paralyticum 38 Annorum.  
 In illud, "Pater si possibile est."  
 In illud, "Intrate per angustam," etc. Ho-  
 miliæ duæ.  
 In inscriptionem Actorum.  
 De ferendis reprehensionibus, et in Acta.  
 In varia loca in Epist. ad Rom. Homiliæ  
 quinque.  
 In varia loca in Epist. 1 ad Corinth. Ho-  
 miliæ quinque.  
 In illud, 2 Cor. 4. "Habentes eundem spi-  
 ritum," Homiliæ tres.  
 In illud, 2 Cor. 11. "Utinam sustineretis."  
 In illud, Philip. i. "Sive occasione, sive  
 veritate."  
 Laus Maximi, et quales ducendæ Uxores.  
 In illud, 1 Thess. iv. "De dormientibus nolo  
 vos."  
 In illud, 1 Tim. v. "Vidua eligatur non  
 minus."  
 De proditione Judæ, et paschate.  
 In Christi natalem.  
 In cœmeterii appellationem et crucem.  
 De cruce et confessione Latronis.  
 De resurrectione mortuorum.  
 De resurrectione Christi.  
 De Ascensione Christi.  
 De S. pentecoste, Homiliæ duæ.  
 De pœnitentia et Eucharistia.  
 De Laudibus, S. Pauli.  
 De mansuetudine.  
 In illud Act. ix. "Paulus spirans."  
 In inscriptionem Altaris Act. xvii.  
 In illud 1 Cor. i. "Paulus vocatus."  
 Utilem esse lectionem scripturæ.  
 De precibus Christi in miraculis.  
 In eos qui pascha jejununt.  
 In Eliam et viduam.

De futuræ vitæ deliciis.  
 Non esse desperandum.  
 Peccata fratrum non evulganda.  
 Non esse ad gratiam concionandum.  
 De sanctis martyribus, Homiliæ duæ.  
 Dæmones non gubernare mundum.  
 In illud, Gal. ii. "In faciem ei restiti."  
 Demonstratio, quod Christus sit Deus.  
 Ad eos, qui scandalizati sunt.  
 In paralyticum per tectum demissum.  
 Cur in Pentecoste legantur Acta.  
 De mutatione nominum in scriptura.  
 De S. Basso martyre.  
 De S. Droside martyre.  
 De pœnitentia et mæstitia Achaab.

## TOM. VI.

Unum et eundem esse legislatorem utriusque  
 Test.  
 In illud, Gen. i. "Vidit deus."  
 In illud, Gen. i. "Faciamus hominem."  
 In illud, Gen. xxiv. 10. "Pone manum  
 tuam."  
 De serpente æneo.  
 De justo et beato Job, Sermones quatuor.  
 In illud, Psal. xxxviii. "Veruntamen frustra."  
 In Psal. lxxxiii. "Et turtur nidum."  
 In Eliam prophetam.  
 De Joseph et Castitate.  
 De Susanna.  
 De tribus pueris.  
 De sigillis librorum, Esai xlv. 3.  
 De fide et lege naturæ.  
 De sancta et individua Trinitate.  
 De sancto et adorando Spiritu.  
 De sancta pentecoste.  
 In illud, Joan. i. "In principio erat verbum."  
 De occursu et Simeone.  
 In sancta Theophania Domini.  
 De nuptiis Joan. ii. et contra Judæos.  
 De Christo Pastore et Ove, Joan. x.  
 In decollationem Baptistæ, et de Herodiade,  
 Homiliæ duæ.  
 In venerabilem crucem, et de transgressione  
 Adami.  
 In dismissionem Chananeæ.  
 In præcursorem Domini Joannem.  
 In SS. Apostolos Petrum et Paulum.  
 In SS. duodecim Apostolos.

In S. Thomam Apostolum.  
 In S. Stephanum Protomart.  
 In illud, 2 Cor. xii. "Sufficit tibi gratia."  
 In Annuntiationem S. Deiparæ.  
 In sancta Theophania, et S. Joannem.  
 In parabolam de filio prodigo.  
 In illud, Matth. xiii. "Collegerunt Judæi  
 concilium."  
 In Decem Virgines, Matth. xxv.  
 In Meretricem et Phariseum, Luc. vii.  
 In sancta et magna parasceue.  
 In Samaritanam Joan. iv.  
 De Cæco a nativitate, Joan. ix.  
 In triduanam Christi resurrectionem.  
 In Christi Ascensionem, Serm. quatuor.  
 Bonum Christi discipulum benignum esse.  
 De Pseudo-prophetis et falsis doctoribus.  
 De Circo, Oratio.  
 In Salvatoris nostri nativitatem.  
 In illud, Luc. ii. "Exiit Edictum."  
 In Oraculum Zachariæ redditum, Luc. i.  
 In conceptionem Joannis.  
 In illud, Matth. vi. "Attendite, ne eleemosynam."  
 De fugienda simulata specie.  
 De muliere fluxum sanguinis passa.  
 De patrefamilias et operariis, Matth. xx.  
 In parabolam de ficu arefacta, Matth.  
 xxi.  
 De Phariseo et convivio, Luc. xi.  
 De Lazaro et divite, Luc. xvi.  
 De Publicano et Phariseo, Luc. xviii.  
 De Cæco et Zachæo, Luc. xviii.  
 Religiosum facietis uti non debere.  
 De S. Joanne Theologo.  
 De adoratione S. Crucis.  
 De confessione S. Crucis.  
 De negatione Petri, Matth. xxvi.  
 De jejuniis et eleemosyna.  
 In sacrum pascha.  
 In secundum Domini adventum.  
 Florilegia triginta ex homiliis Chrysostomi  
 decerpta per Theodorum Magistrum.

## TOM. VII.

Commentariorum in Matthæum, Homiliæ  
 91.

## TOM. VIII.

Operis imperfecti in Matthæum, Homiliæ  
 54, Lat.



Commentariorum in Evangelium Joannis,  
Homiliæ 87.

## TOM. IX.

In Acta Apostolorum, Homiliæ 51.

In Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, Homiliæ  
31.

## TOM. X.

In Pauli Epistolam 1 ad Corinth. Homiliæ  
44.

In 2 ad Corinth. Homiliæ triginta.

In Epistolam ad Galatas commentarius  
perpetuus.

In Epistolam ad Ephesios, Homiliæ 24.

## TOM. XI.

In Epistolam ad Philippenses, Homiliæ 15.

In Epist. ad Colossenses, Homiliæ duode-  
cim.

In 1 ad Thessalonicenses, Homiliæ unde-  
cim.

In 2 ad Thess. Homiliæ quinque.

In 1 ad Timotheum, Homiliæ 18.

In 2 ad Timotheum, Homiliæ decem.

In Epistolam ad Titum, Homiliæ sex.

In Epistolam ad Philemonem, Homiliæ tres.

In Epistolam ad Hebræos, Homiliæ 34.

*De operibus D. Chrysostomi dubiis, vel falso  
ascriptis paucula Lector monendus est.*

## I.

Sixtus Senensis, Ant. Possevinus, alique  
vulgares Critici Scriptorum D. Chrysos-  
tomi dubiorum et supposititiorum catalo-  
gum satis amplum dederunt, quem per  
otium Lector consulere potest: in quo  
præter "Opus imperfectum in Matth." etc.  
habentur Expositio in Evangelium  
D. Marci, Homiliæ 59. ad Pop. Antioch.  
aliaque partim ex variis Chrysostomi  
Sermonibus consarcinata, partim aliunde  
accepta, quæ a Chrysostomi operibus  
jam penitus abjudicantur.

## II.

Fronto-Ducæus opera supposititia (quæ ta-  
men ab auctoribus Chrysostomo coævis,  
vel ab ejus saltem ætate non longe re-  
motis scripta esse existimat) præter

paucos Sermones in Psalmos ad calcem  
tomi iii. omnia in tomum vi. conjecit,  
prout a nobis supra recensentur.

## III.

Editioni suæ omnium optimæ, et castiga-  
tissimæ indicem operum Chrysostimia-  
norum præmisit nobilis et eruditissimus  
vir D. Henricus Savilius, tum eorum quæ  
pro veris ac germanis, tum quæ pro am-  
biguis et falsis habuit. Ambigua et  
supposititia inde seligam, et in Lectoris  
gratiam, servato cujusvis tomi ordine,  
hic subjiciam.

*Dubiæ fidei scripta.*

## TOM. I.

Expositio in Psalm. li.

Exposit. in Psalm. xcii.

## TOM. V.

In illud, "Vidit Deus omnia."

Demonstratio, quod imaginem ad similitu-  
dinem Dei factam, etc.

Quomodo Adam acceperit animam, etc.

In B. Abraham.

In Joseph, et de temperantia.

De Serpente Mosis.

In prophetam Eliam.

Protheoria in Psalmos.

In illud, "Dominus regnavit," etc.

In sigilla Librorum, etc.

In tres pueros.

In Susannam.

In Orationem Dominicam.

Orat. Catechetica in illud, "Simile est reg-  
num," etc.

In illud, "Exiit decretum a Cæsare," etc.

In Prodigum filium, etc.

In Divitem et Lazarum.

In Cæcum, quem Christus sanavit.

In Mulieres, quæ unguenta attulerunt,  
etc.

In illud, "In principio erat Verbum."

In illud, "Quomodo novit literas," etc.

In Cæcum a nativitate.

In Chananæam, et in Pharaon, etc.

In secundum adventum Domini, etc.

In illud, "Non quod volo, hoc facio," etc.

In illud, "Sufficit tibi gratia mea," etc.  
 In illud, "Sponte peccantibus nobis post  
 acceptam cognitionem veritatis," etc.  
 Sermo in principium indictionis.  
 In principium indictionis novi Anni.  
 In pretiosam Crucem.  
 In exaltationem pretiosæ crucis.  
 In S. Martyrem Phocam, etc.  
 In conceptionem S. Johannis præcursoris.  
 Encomium in S. Protomartyrem Theclam.  
 In S. Apostolum Thomam.  
 In S. Martyrem Romanum.  
 In Christi nativitatem.  
 In nativitatem Christi, et quod unicuique  
 Climates, etc.  
 In S. Stephanum protomartyrem.  
 In occursum Salvatoris et Deiparæ, etc.  
 In mediam Hebdomada jejuniorum.  
 In adorationem pretiosæ crucis.  
 In media Hebdomade jejuniorum.  
 In Festum Palmarum.  
 In S. Virginem Deiparam.  
 In S. Deiparam.  
 In proditionem Salvatoris, etc.  
 In pretiosam et vivificam crucem, etc.  
 In die S. et magnæ parascenes.  
 In Latronem, et proditionem Salvatoris.  
 In salutiferam sepulturam, et triduanam,  
 etc.  
 Oratio Catechetica in S. Pascha.  
 In Pascha, Orationes septem.  
 In B. Job, Orationes quatuor.  
 In Ascensionem Domini, Orationes duæ.  
 In Pentecosten, Orationes tres.  
 In memoriam Martyrum, et quod Pastor,  
 etc.  
 In principes Apostolorum Petrum et Pau-  
 lum, etc.  
 In sanctos duodecim Apostolos.  
 In synaxim Archangelorum.

## TOM. VI.

Veteris et N. Testamenti eundem esse legis-  
 latorem, etc.  
 De fide, et in legem naturæ, et de spiritu S.  
 Quod oporteat Christi discipulum clemen-  
 tem esse.  
 Oratio exhortatoria ad pœnitentiam, etc.  
 De pœnitentia et Eleemosyna.  
 De pœnitentia.

De Eleemosyna.  
 De jejunio, Orationes septem.  
 De patientia, et mortuis non amare despondendis.  
 De patientia.  
 De S. et Consubstantiali Trinitate.  
 Quod non oporteat monachum facetiis, etc.  
 De salute animæ.  
 Ad Catechumenos.  
 Orat. in Circum.  
 Deploratio eorum qui Christi virgines cor-  
 rumpunt.  
 Contra Hæreticos.  
 Liturgia.  
 Precationes duæ.

## TOM. VII.

In illud, Abrahæ, "Pone manum tuam sub  
 femur meum," etc.  
 In Dominicam novam, et in Apostolum  
 Thomam.  
 In sanctum Stephanum Orationes tres.  
 In S. Pentecostem.

*Scripta Supposititia.*

## TOM. I.

Expositio in Psalm. c. ci. cii. ciii. civ. cv.  
 cvi. cvii.  
 Expositio in Psalm. cxviii. stationem pri-  
 mam.  
 ——— in secundam.  
 ——— in tertiam.

## TOM. VII.

Hom. in expulsionem Adam, et de malis  
 mulieribus.  
 In sacrificia Cain, etc.  
 In Abraham et Isaac.  
 In serpentem æneum, etc.  
 In illud, "In tribulatione dilatasti mihi,"  
 etc.  
 In illud, "Frustra conturbatur omnis homo  
 vivens," etc.  
 In illud, "Vovete et reddite Domino deo  
 nostro.  
 In Turturem.  
 In illud, "Sustulerunt flumina vocem," etc.  
 In illud, "Venite et exultemus."  
 In illud, "Eripe me Domine ab homine  
 malo."

In Rachel et in infantes.  
 In Herodem et in infantes.  
 In Jordanem fluvium.  
 In illud, "Si Filius Dei es, projice," etc.  
 In illud, "Cavete, ne elemosynam vestram," etc.  
 In illud, "Egressi Pharisei concilium ceperunt."  
 In decollationem Johannis, et in Herodidem.  
 In saltationem Herodiadis, etc.  
 In Metamorphosin Domini nostri, Orationes tres.  
 In illud, "Quaecunque ligaveritis in terra," etc.  
 In Ficum arefactum.  
 In parabolam decem virginum.  
 In illud, pater, si possibile est.  
 In abnegationem Petri, etc.  
 In meretricem et Phariseum, Orationes duæ.  
 In mulierem peccatricem, etc.  
 In meretricem et Phariseum.  
 In Visionem Zachariæ, etc.  
 In Filium viduæ.  
 In Centurionem.  
 In illud, "Exiit seminans seminare."  
 In Parab. "Homo quidam descendit, et incidit in Latrones," Orationes duæ.  
 In Phariseum.  
 In illud, "Ignem veni mittere in terram," etc.  
 In illud Lucæ, de Didrachma.  
 In Parabolam de Filio prodigo.  
 In Parabolam Oeconomi injusti, etc.  
 In publicanum et Phariseum, Orationes duæ.  
 In Zachæum publicanum.  
 In Samaritanum.  
 In Samaritanam, et interpretatio Messiae.  
 In Paralyticum, et in illud, "Nolite judicare secundum aspectum."  
 In illud, "Dæmonium habes," etc.  
 In illud, "Cum ascenderit Dominus in Templum."  
 In Martham, Mariam, et Lazarum; et Eliam prophetam.  
 In Lazarum redivivum, Orationes tres.  
 In illud, "Cogerunt Judæi concilium," etc.  
 Sermo in Nativitatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.  
 In Christi Nativitatem.

In Nativitatem Domini nostri.  
 In S. Johannem Theologum.  
 In S. Johannem Theologum, Apostolum, et Evangelistam.  
 In S. Theophania, Orationes duæ.  
 In adorationem pretiosi ligni.  
 In Annunciationem Deiparæ, et adv. Arium.  
 In Annunciationem.  
 In Annunciationem SS. Deiparæ.  
 In Festum Palmarum.  
 In proditionem Judæ, etc.  
 In crucem, et de transgressionem primorum parentum.  
 In S. passionem Domini.  
 In Resurrectionem Domini.  
 In Resurrectionem Domini, Orationes tres.  
 In Mesopentecosten.  
 In Nativitatem S. Joannis præcursoris.  
 In Præcursorem, Orationes duæ.  
 De jejunio.  
 In principium sacrorum jejuniorum. De jejunio, Orationes duæ.  
 In principium jejuniorum.  
 De jejunio.  
 De jejunio, et in David.  
 De pœnitentia.  
 Contra Judæos, Gentiles, et Hæreticos.  
 De fide.  
 De spe.  
 De charitate, Orationes duæ.  
 Quod charitas secundum Deum sit opus divinum.  
 De patientia et consummatione sæculi.  
 De Oratione.  
 De elemosyna.  
 De pseudo-prophetis, etc.  
 Epistola ad Monachos.  
 Comparatio Regiæ potentiæ, etc.  
 Quod mores assimilatos fugere oporteat.  
 De siccitate.  
 In secundum adventum Domini nostri.  
 Quod oporteat eum, qui habeat gratiam quamcunque Communicare ei, etc.  
 Admonitiones Spirituales.  
*De singulis hisce Tractatibus D. Chrysostomo ascriptis qui censuram exactiorem desiderat, is adeat notas Savilii, Boissii, Halesii, et Dounæi in Edit. Eton.*

## IV.

Franc. Combefis, Ann. 1656. sub nomine



Chrysostomi sex sequentes Homilias Gr. et Lat. edidit.

De inani gloria, et educandis a parentibus liberis.

In S. Christi nativitate.

In S. Lumina.

In recens baptizatos, etc. de Paschate.

In S. Bassi Episcopi et Martyris memoriam, etc.

Post terre motum.

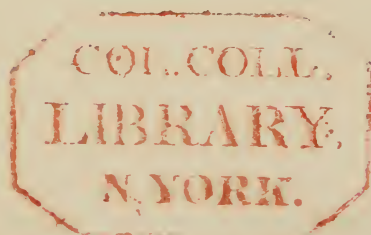
Homilia de morali politia, in Præcursoris

decollationem, atque mulierem peccatricem, edita est ab eod. Combef. 1645.

J. B. Cotelerius, socius Sorbonicus, Ann. 1661. S. Jo. Chrysostomi Homilias quatuor in Psalmos Gr. et Lat. edidit, quas genuinas esse agnoscit.

Item in Daniele prophetam interpretat. quæ vel non esse Chrysostomi, vel fusioris saltem commentarii Ecloga et Epitome ab eodem Cotelerio meritò judicatur.

AN  
APPENDIX;  
CONTAINING A BRIEF ACCOUNT  
OF SOME OTHER  
EMINENT FATHERS  
THAT FLOURISHED IN THIS  
FOURTH CENTURY.







## THE LIFE OF ARNOBIUS.

His country, education, and opening a school for rhetoric. His bigotry for paganism. Converted to Christianity, when and how. Forced to write *Adversus Gentes*, to give satisfaction of the truth of his conversion. His great joy for his being rescued from Gentilism. His learning. Abatements to be made for his want of skill in Christian theology. His style, method, and way of writing. The Commentaries upon the Psalms under his name, whose. The time of his death inquired into.

THAT Arnobius was by birth an African, there can be no cause to doubt, especially when, as they said of St. Peter, "his speech agreeth thereto." He was educated in all the Gentile learning of that age, wherein he became so great a master, that in the reign of Diocletian he opened a school of rhetoric at Sicca,<sup>a</sup> an inland town in Africa, and a Roman colony. Here, as he wanted no scholars, so he taught with great fame and reputation. He was a fierce bigot for paganism, which he maintained with all the advantages of his wit and parts. And thus he continued until the Diocletian persecution, which brake out Ann. Chr. 303; when the great severity which he saw used towards the innocent Christians, and their incomparable patience, meekness, and constancy under their heaviest sufferings, awakened his mind to a more serious and impartial inquiry into things. And as heaven is never wanting to the honest designs of men, especially where they are like to be more than ordinarily useful to the church, he was often warned by divine admonitions in his dreams to turn Christian. This he now resolved upon, and accordingly presented himself to the bishop of the place in order to it. But the flock is naturally afraid of the wolf. The Christians at Jerusalem were not at first more shy of St. Paul, than the bishops of Sicca and the Christians were of Arnobius, not imagining that so hot a zeal for paganism should cool all on a sudden, but rather suspected it was but a trick to trepan and circumvent them, espe-

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. de Script. c. 79. et Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 327.

cially in those times, and therefore refused to admit him, until he had given some signal evidence of the reality of his conversion. Hereupon he set himself to vindicate the cause of Christianity against the Gentiles, which he did in seven books; wherein he vigorously asserted the truth and excellency of the Christian religion, and so wittily exposed the follies of pagan worship, so shamefully baffled all their specious and popular insinuations, that a man might wonder with what confidence they could ever lift up their heads again. He gives us also some hint of the date of his conversion, when he tells us,<sup>b</sup> it was then about three hundred years more or less since Christianity first set out into the world. By this uncontrollable demonstration he removed all possibility of jealousy and suspicion, and was joyfully entertained, and received to baptism. And now how thankfully did he own the goodness of heaven every time he reflected upon his former state. "Miserable blindness and ignorance (said he) wherein I was shut up! With what veneration did I lately prostrate myself before statues, but just before taken out of the furnace? Gods hammered out upon the anvil, or the bones of elephants. If I chanced to espy painted garlands hanging upon an old consecrated tree, or a polished stone daubed over with oil, immediately, as if a divine power had been present in it, I began to address myself to it, to court its favour, and to beg blessings of it, the senseless stock in the mean time knowing nothing of what was said or done to it. And thus I shamefully dishonoured what I persuaded myself were gods, while I believed them to be wood, or stones, or bones, or such-like materials. But being now, by the institution of so great a master, brought into the ways of truth, I understand all these things what they are, I have notions becoming the nature of things, nor do I offer any contempt to the name of God, but give what respect is due to every thing or person, according to the different degrees or ranks of being." In his contests with the Gentiles he shews himself a much abler champion at the offensive than the defensive weapon. His learning lay most that way, and he has accordingly miserably mauled the pagan cause. It does not appear, that at the time of his writing he had read any considerable part of the Bible, more than the obvious passages of the evangelical story, or that he had accurately considered the doc-

<sup>b</sup> Adv. gent. l. i. p. 9. ed. 1651.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 22, 23.

trines and principles of Christianity. He was not then so much as a catechumen, instructed in the first rudiments of the faith, and therefore it is not to be charged as a fault upon his memory, if some few passages occur in his writings not so strictly conformable to catholic doctrine; it is rather to be wondered, that he ran not into more and greater errors. He was furnished with a mighty stock of secular learning, and had quick natural parts to set it off. His style, though censured by St. Jerome of old to be loose and unequal,<sup>d</sup> is yet sufficiently elegant; it retains indeed sometimes a tang of the African dialect, but keeps a middle way between the roughness of Tertullian and the smoothness and sweetness of Cyprian: nor is his work so confused and immethodical as that father seems to insinuate, as is evident to any that will be at the pains attentively to read it, and observe how his design is laid, his argument prosecuted, and how the several parts of it do naturally enough one depend upon another. He wrote with an impartial freedom, and, as most writers of that country, with an unusual ardour and fervency of spirit, with brisk periods, a nervous smartness and strength of reasoning, and with great pleasantness of wit, wherein the argument he managed gave him scope enough. Besides these books, certain commentaries upon the Psalms went a long time under his name, and Erasmus takes a great deal of pains in asserting them to be his,<sup>e</sup> and in reconciling the difference and inequality of the style. But had that learned man a little more narrowly considered things, or lived to see the books against the Gentiles published, (which he concluded to be lost,) he would have spared that labour. It being long since agreed on all hands, that those commentaries are the work of a junior Arnobius, who dedicated them to Leontius bishop of Arles, and Rusticus of Narbon, both contemporary with St. Augustine in his latter times: not to say that there are passages in them that concern the Photinian and the Pelagian controversies, started long since Arnobius's time. What became of Arnobius after his conversion, and whether he took upon him the ecclesiastic orders, or when he died, we have no account. If St. Jerome intended right order of time, when he placed him in the front of his continuation of

<sup>d</sup> Epist. xlix. ad Paulin. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 567.

<sup>e</sup> Præf. in. Arnob. Com. in Psal. inter Epist. l. xxviii. ep. 9.



the Eusebian Chronicon, he was alive Ann. Chr. 327, two years after the council of Nice: but whether then, or how much longer, is to me unknown.

His Writings.

*Genuine.*

Adversus Gentes, libri septem.

*Supposititious.*

Commentarii breves in Psalmos 150.

## THE LIFE OF LACTANTIUS.

His birth-place. His education under Arnobius. The first essay of his parts and learning. Diocletian's study to advance Nicomedia. Lactantius sent for thither to profess rhetoric. The books he wrote at his first coming thither. The design of his book *De opificio Dei*. The original and progress of the persecution raised by Diocletian against the Christians, and by whom contrived and carried on. Two learned men at Nicomedia undertake to write against Christianity. The account Lactantius gives of the former. The latter, Hierocles. The main design of his book. These two undertaken by Lactantius. His defence of the Christian religion in his seven books of Institutions. The particular design and sum of each of these books. These books, when written: not originally dedicated to Constantine the Great. Lactantius preferred to be tutor to Crispus, Constantine's eldest son. His book *De mortibus persecutorum*, when written. The excellency of that tract. His death, and poverty. His great parts and learning. His odd or ambiguous expressions, upon what accounts excusable. His excellent style. His writings.

LUCIUS Cœlius Lactantius was in all probability born at Firmium, a town in the country of Picenum in Italy, situate near the Adriatic sea, and thence borrowed the name of Firmianus. His parents seem to have been Gentiles, and to have trained him up in that religion; but how or upon what occasion he was brought over to Christianity, no intimations are left upon record. His education was liberal, and it met with a pregnant and capacious mind. In his younger years he was sent over into Africa,<sup>a</sup> and put under the tutorage of Arnobius, the famous professor of rhetoric at Sicca, where he so plied his studies, that in a short time he overtook and outwent his master; and though as yet but a very youth, gave an early specimen of his mature parts and learning in a treatise, which he called Symposium, composed perhaps in imitation of that of Plato, or the other of Xenophon, or the Deipnosophists, written by Athenæus. By this time his fame was spread all abroad, and he was called up to a more eminent station, and placed in the eye of the world.

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. de Script. c. 80.

II. The emperor Diocletian had fixed his court at Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, which he beautified and adorned with temples,<sup>b</sup> palaces, circusses, magazines, courts of justice, and all manner of stately and magnificent buildings, resolving to make it equal to Rome itself; and if he espied the least fault in any structure, when finished, he immediately caused it to be pulled down again, and set up anew, to the utter ruin and undoing of the country, the rich in their purses, and the poor in their persons. And what was yet worse, wherever he espied a convenient piece of ground, or a more elegant building fit for his turn, he was not content barely to take it away, but the owner must be arraigned, and executed for treason, that so it might escheat to the crown, under a pretence of justice. By this means he rendered that city very splendid and magnificent. And because learning has been ever accounted the chief glory of any place, his next care was to furnish it with the most eminent professors. Among whom Lactantius is pitched on, and sent for out of Africa to profess rhetoric at Nicomedia.<sup>c</sup> At his arrival there, he betook himself to his professor's place; but Latin eloquence found little entertainment: for Greek being the common language of that place, he had few scholars, so that in a short time he was forced to shut up his school, and betook himself to writing books. His first essay was an *Hodæporicon* in heroic verse, wherein he described his voyage from Africa to Nicomedia; and next, a book which he called *Grammaticus*. After this, he set upon his book *De Opificio Dei*,<sup>d</sup> wherein, from the admirable creation and composition of man, he elegantly argues a Divine Providence, and that both from the frame of his body, and the nature of his soul. This he dedicated to Demetrian, (as he did also two books of epistles,) who had been his scholar, whom he tells in the close,<sup>e</sup> that he intended hereafter to discourse these matters more at large, especially what concerned the state of another life; and partly from the principles of his own religion, partly from their disagreement among themselves, would shew that the philosophers were quite out of the way, who, notwithstanding all their plausible pretences, were the greatest enemies to truth: and that for his own part, he desired to live for no other end, than to compose what might be

<sup>b</sup> Lact. de mort. persec. c. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Instit. l. ii. c. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. de script. c. 80.

<sup>e</sup> De Opific. Dei, c. 20.



useful to human life; and he should then think he had lived long enough, and to purposes good enough, when what he writ might serve to recover any from error, and to set them in the right way to heaven. And, indeed, it was not long before he was engaged in the defence of Christianity against the attempts of the Gentile philosophers, though God knows upon too sad an occasion, I mean the fierce persecution raised by Diocletian. The first springs and motions whereof being particularly discovered by no other author but Lactantius, who was then upon the place, and his accounts too being but very lately retrieved and recovered to the world, it can be no unacceptable entertainment to the reader to be briefly acquainted with them.

III. Diocletian was a man infinitely superstitious,<sup>f</sup> extremely fearful and jealous of future events, and upon that account miserably devoted to soothsaying and divination, for which reason there never wanted enough of that divining tribe to attend the court. It happened, that while they were busy one day at their divinatory sacrifices, certain Christian priests crept in among the crowd, who secretly making the sign of the cross upon their foreheads, the demons immediately vanished, and all was left in disturbance and confusion. The *aruspices* trembled, not being able to discern any of the wonted signs in the entrails of the sacrifices; and, as if they had mistaken or failed in some punctilios, began anew, and frequently repeated them, but to as little purpose as before. Whereupon Tages, master of the ceremonies, either seeing the persons, or suspecting them, cried out, that the reason why the sacrifices did not give their wonted significations was, because profane persons had mixed themselves with the holy solemnities. The emperor, enraged hereat, commanded all present to do sacrifice, and all that were in the palace, under pain of stripes and violence; and by a warrant to the commanders, ordered all the soldiers in the army to do the like, or immediately be discharged. Not long after came Galerius Maximianus, whom Diocletian some years since had created Caesar, a zealous pagan, who set himself to blow up the emperor into a violent persecution of the Christians. But none plied him harder than his mother, a woman superstitious beyond measure, and who had a most inveterate spite against Christianity. These three held private cabals all the winter, and while it was be-

<sup>f</sup> Lact. de mort. persec. c. 10, 11, et seq.

lieved abroad that they were in deep consults about state-affairs, they were only hammering out a persecution against the Christians. Diocletian was old, and loved his ease, and therefore did not readily listen to violent counsels; he urged how dangerous a thing it was to disquiet the empire, and to hurry the world into confusion and blood; that such severities would be ineffectual, the Christians desiring nothing more than death and martyrdom; and that it would be enough, if the court and the army were purged from the men of that religion. Finding this would not do, he betook himself to his old king-craft; which was, in all great and generous acts, to resolve upon them without taking any advice, that so the honour of them might reflect upon himself alone; but where the thing was like to prove mischievous and distasteful, he was wont to take several officers into council, that so the blame might fall upon them. This he practised in this case; he declares he will hear the opinion of his friends and confidants, whereupon some judges and military commanders are taken in, who all comply with the counsel of the empress and Maximian. The emperor not yet satisfied, sends to consult the oracle of Apollo Miliesius, who, we may be sure, returned an answer home to the purpose. And now all excuses being removed, he yields; but still persuades the more moderate course, that it might be done without blood, while Maximian insists that they may be burnt alive. The time prefixed to begin this tragic scene was the seventh of the calends of March, when the *terminalia* were usually celebrated among the Romans, and this chosen as an auspicious omen, that they should put a term and period to that religion. The day being come, (it was the 23rd of February, Ann. Chr. 303,) early in the morning the emperor with his guards and officers goes to the church of the Christians, and having broken open the doors, sought for the image of the God they worshipped, but finding none, took the Bibles, and other things at hand, and threw them into the fire, filling all places with force and violence. It held some debate, whether they should set the church on fire, but the emperor overruled that, as what might be of fatal consequence to the city; whereupon officers were set on work, who pulled it down to the ground. The next day an edict was published to strip the Christians of all honours, offices, privileges, and that no quality or condition should exempt them from the rack and torture, and

that they should have no power at law in any case to vindicate and right themselves; and to that end altars were set up in the courts of judicature, and every one was to offer sacrifice, before he could have liberty to plead his cause. And now Maximian, to strike home, secretly causes the imperial palace to be set on fire, (but so, that it might be easily quenched,) and then charges it upon the Christians, who, he tells the emperor, had done it out of envy, and had conspired with the eunuchs to murder the emperor, and that they had been in great danger of being both burnt alive. This put Diocletian into a passion beyond all the restraints of reason, or giving himself a respite for cool and impartial considerations. Orders are issued out to proceed against Christians without mercy, and he himself sits and sees them executed in part; the rest was done by his judges and officers, and all the emulation was, who should be most bloody and cruel. No regard is had to sex, age, or order, and not content with single executions, whole house-fulls are burnt at once, and droves tied together with ropes are thrown into the sea: prisons are crowded, and new instruments of torture are invented, and letters written to the Western emperors to pursue the same methods in those parts. By which means the persecution became universal, and, unless where Constantius governed, was carried on with almost equal cruelty in all parts. The particulars whereof it is not my business here to relate.

IV. I make no apology for this digression, the account being uncommon, and not altogether foreign to my purpose, will plead for itself. But the sword and the axe were not the only engines made use of in the persecution, the pen was taken up to introduce and justify the other, and Christianity at once exposed to the scorn and cruelty of its adversaries. Lactantius tells us of two at this time at Nicomedia,<sup>g</sup> though he conceals their names, who took upon them by writing to insult over, and refute the persecuted and despised religion, the one a philosopher, the other a judge. By the philosopher, Baronius will needs understand Porphyry,<sup>h</sup> the famous and known enemy of Christians. But the character Lactantius gives him, no way suits either with Porphyry's age or temper. Porphyry was a man of a most strict, severe, and mortified life; Lactantius's philosopher, servile, covetous, voluptuous, and every way debauched and

<sup>g</sup> Instit. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Ad Ann. 302. num. 51. 57.



vicious. And though we could suppose Porphyry to have been a man of this humour, yet his great age (being at this time near seventy years old) would have rendered him incapable of those loose extravagancies which Lactantius charges upon his philosopher: not to mention that Porphyry wrote no less than thirty books against the Christians; this, no more than three. By the other, the judge, we are doubtless to understand Hierocles, (and so indeed elsewhere he expressly tells us,<sup>i</sup>) who from a *vicarius* had been made president, and had been one of the prime counsellors and promoters of the persecution: a man of greater parts, and better manners, but an irreconcilable enemy to the Christian name, against which he wrote with great salt and sharpness. Two books he published, which he styled *Φιλαληθείς*; and to mollify the odium of the thing, entitled them not *against*, but *to* the Christians. The main design of them was to expose the holy scriptures (which he seemed to have read with some care for that very end) as a bundle of inconsistencies and self-contradictions, picking up all passages which he could make look that way, besides those infinitely false and scurrilous reflections which he liberally threw upon our Saviour and his apostles. In short, so ready and dexterous was he at quoting the holy writings, that my author was almost tempted to think he had once been a Christian; and did other circumstances concur, his spite and zeal would be no small arguments to strengthen the conjecture, apostates being ever the most bitter and virulent opposers of that religion which they have deserted.

V. These two undertakers read their discourses in the presence of Lactantius,<sup>k</sup> who was not a little troubled to see the best religion in the world thus openly and insolently affronted; and being as it were thus boldly challenged, and armed with the advantages of so good a cause, he resolved to put pen to paper, not so much to encounter these trifling antagonists, (whose strength, he tells us, he could have routed in a few words,) as to undertake the general defence of Christianity against all aggressors of that kind, and at once to disable all their attempts against it. Accordingly, as his master Arnobius did just about the same time in seven books stoutly defend the Christian cause against the pagans, so he composed seven books of Divine Insti-

<sup>i</sup> De mort. persec. c. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Instit. l. v. c. 4.

tutions: in the first whereof, he treats concerning the false religion, and having assigned several causes of his undertaking, he proceeds to assert and prove a Providence; and next, that there is but one God that made and governs the world; which he evinces both by arguments and authorities, the testimonies of prophets, poets, philosophers, sibyls, and oracles, and rationally refutes the religion of the Gentile world, especially that which obtained in the Roman empire, shewing that the deities which they worshipped were altogether unworthy of the title and place of gods. In the second book he discourses concerning the *origin of error*, demonstrates at large the vanity of the pagan religion, and inquires how the Romans came to fall under so many absurd errors and mistakes, and, indeed, how mankind came to lapse under so prodigious a degeneracy in matters of divine worship; which he charges chiefly upon the great corruption and apostacy of Noah's posterity, and the subtle snares and stratagems of the devil. The third is concerning *false wisdom*; wherein the vanity of philosophy and philosophers, and their false pretences to true wisdom, are admirably represented. As in the fourth he treats of the *true wisdom*, and having first complained of the prevalency of pagan impiety, and inquired why their great masters of philosophy never found true wisdom, because they sought it not in its right place, there being an inseparable union between true wisdom and religion, no where to be met with but among Christians; he next displays the true knowledge of Christ, both as to his person, name, birth, nature, and that both divine and human, miracles, sufferings, and crucifixion; inquiring likewise how our owning both Father and Son to be God, can consist with the unity of the Deity: lastly, what are the usual causes of heresy, which he shews to be pride, covetousness, ignorance of scripture, and an over-fond valuation of false teachers and prophets. The fifth book treats of *justice*; wherein he gives an account why he set upon this whole work; then shews that justice and righteousness, how much soever boasted of by philosophers, was possessed only by Christians, that it was an unreasonable cruelty in the pagans to persecute these just and righteous persons, however God, for wise and good ends, thought fit to suffer it. In the sixth, he discourses concerning *true worship*; both inward, as it respects the temper and disposition of the mind, and outward, as it relates to the carriage of

the life; and rectifies the mistakes of the philosophers and great men among the heathens about the several virtues of a good life. The seventh and last part is *De Vita beata*, or the happiness of the life to come; wherein he shews, that the true *summum bonum*, or reward of virtue, consists in a state of future immortality; that the souls of men are thus immortal, notwithstanding what some of the philosophers have said to the contrary; and what it is that capacitates a man for this eternal state. Then he discourses concerning the end of the world, and the signs that shall precede it; concerning the day of judgment, and the reign of a thousand years, and the consequent state that shall ensue upon it. And having thus despatched his main argument, he shuts up the whole with a pathetic exhortation, to call off our minds from things present and sensible, and heartily to entertain and comply with this excellent religion, as the only way to attain to this happy and immortal life. This is the sum of his several dissertations; which being finished, he is generally said to have dedicated them to Constantine the Great, and both towards the beginning and the conclusion of the book, there are particular and formal addresses and dedications to him. But the case is somewhat more than suspicious. In the first address he is said to have begun this work under Constantine, whereas Lactantius himself assures us, he set upon it not long after the beginning of the Diocletian persecution, the cruelty and universality whereof he more than once and again complains of; but the persecution of Licinius (under which they suppose he wrote it) was only topical, confined to some places in the East, and never reached the Western parts. He farther tells us, he engaged in it, when he taught oratory at Nicomedia, and when Hierocles, who was then one of the judges there, wrote against Christianity; now Hierocles was soon after removed to the government of Egypt, to carry on the persecution there. So that it is plain, these addresses must be of a later date, and inserted by some other hand, and accordingly (which puts the case past all dispute) are wanting, not only in some of the first editions, but in most, if not all, of the best and most ancient copies of these Institutions. This work he afterwards abridged into an epitome, for the more ease and advantage of common readers; some part whereof, viz. of the three last books, is still extant, though perhaps as much as was in St. Jerome's



time, when it was ἀκέφαλος, as he tells us, defective in the first part of it.

VI. Near ten years the persecution had now continued, with all imaginable fierceness and violence, when Constantine the Great, some years since advanced to the empire, having embraced the Christian faith, began to put a stop to it. He had by his lady Minervina, supposed generally to be his concubine, but one son, called Crispus; a prince of hopeful virtues, and whom he then entirely loved, and took all possible care of his education. Constantine had himself lived some years in the court of Diocletian, at the same time that Lactantius was at Nicomedia, with whom, no doubt, he had some acquaintance; and having taken notice of the learning and honesty of the man, sent for him into France to be tutor to the young prince, and to instruct him particularly in the learning and eloquence of the Latin tongue. The prince at that time lay at Triers, as some conjecture, or, as others, at Bezançon, the chief city of Burgundy,<sup>1</sup> where my author will have him to reside with his grandmother Helena; and that from his being there, that city derived the name of Crispolis or Crispopolis, it being styled *Civitas Crispolinorum*, in a very ancient *notitia*, supposed to be coeval with the reign of Honorius: but whether so or no, I intend not to interpose. And now Lactantius enjoyed ease, and a happy leisure; and the better to raise his own and other men's gratitude to God for his infinite deliverances and blessings to the church, he began to reflect upon the darkness and tempestuousness of the late miserable times, and how fatal such courses had always proved to the authors of them. To which end he drew up a discourse *De persecutione*, or *De mortibus persecutorum*: wherein, from the very beginnings of Christianity, he briefly traces that signal and remarkable vengeance from heaven that had pursued the most eminent persecutors of the church, which he draws down to the times of Diocletian, and there enlarges himself as to the rise, cruelty, and extent of that persecution, and those dreadful punishments which God inflicted upon that emperor, and all his colleagues and partners, Maximianus Herculius, Galerius Maximianus, Severus, Maximinus Daza, Maxentius, and Licinius; and how, after all attempts, God crowned the piety of the great Constantine with victory and success, the church with ease and plenty,

<sup>1</sup> P. Fr. Chifflet, dissert. de convers. Const. M. c. 4.

and the world with peace. This book (as he did also that *De Ira Dei*) he dedicated to his dear friend Donatus, who had been an eminent confessor at Nicomedia under three several governors,<sup>m</sup> Flaccinus, Hierocles, and his successor Priscillian, where he had been nine times put to several sorts of torture, whips, hooks to rake off the flesh, pincers, fire, and what not: in all which he came off a conqueror, and stirred not one inch from the testimony of the faith and a good conscience. A short tract this is, but an invaluable treasure, not mentioned by any, but only once by St. Jerome, and never after heard of, till somewhat more than two years since it was happily recovered, and published by the learned Baluzius, for which posterity will stand indebted to his memory. We find not what became of Lactantius after this, or how long he lived. Baronius conceives he died anno 316,<sup>n</sup> but without any other authority than conjecture. He was indeed *in extremâ senectute*, (as St. Jerome informs us,<sup>o</sup>) very aged when he taught Crispus in France, but yet might survive some considerable time; and, what was a miserable aggravation of old age, was so poor,<sup>p</sup> that he wanted even necessary conveniencies for the support of life: which, as it shews his great contempt of the world, (for how easily might he have made a fortune, had he made that his business,) so might perhaps be occasioned by the unfortunate death of the prince his pupil, (if at least we can suppose he outlived him,) after whose decease, it is like, little notice was taken of him. No account is given either of the time, place, or manner of his death, unless we will rely upon the authority of Fl. Dexter's Chronicon,<sup>q</sup> which tells us, that he died very poor at Nice; whither the commentator upon that Chronicon supposes he had been called by Constantine, to be present at the great council there.

VII. He was a man of a serious temper, and a severe life; zealous for the honour of his religion, and unwearied in vindicating it against all opposers. He set himself strenuously against Jews and Gentiles, and, upon occasion, against those within that did corrupt the faith, and designed to write at large against all sects and heresies.<sup>r</sup> His parts were prompt and quick, his judgment sagacious; whatever argument he takes in hand, he manages

<sup>m</sup> De mort. persec. c. 16.

<sup>o</sup> De script. c. 80.

<sup>q</sup> Dext. Chron. p. 370.

<sup>n</sup> Ann. 316. n. 57.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 318.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. lib. de Ira Dei, c. 2.

with that strength and clearness, that he always with ease carries the day. His learning in foreign and external studies (wherein he was chiefly conversant) was exquisite, perhaps not equalled by any of the Latins of that age he lived in; which rendered him capable so successfully to beat the Gentiles at their own weapons, and made St. Jerome say of him,<sup>s</sup> that with much greater dexterity he destroyed their cause, than he confirmed and built up his own. If there be some obscure or uncatholic dogmata in his writings, what garden is there wherein there are no weeds? especially when cultivated by one newly crept out of the woods and thickets, and bred up in the forest and the wilderness. Besides, many things are clear to us, which to them were in the dark, not yet sufficiently beaten out; many questions intricate and disputable, as wherein the church had then made no precise and dogmatical determination. Some errors are the fault of the age rather than the person; and many things are to be pardoned to human weakness, and want of sufficient light. His Chilastic notions were common to him, with several of the greatest note for learning and piety in the church, as we have shewn elsewhere.<sup>t</sup> As for his unwary expressions and unorthodox assertions, I shall not insist upon particulars, most of them have been considered and discussed to satisfaction by another hand.<sup>u</sup> His style is admirable; eloquence was his master-piece; by the concurrent judgment of all, from St. Jerome to this day, he has been accounted the most eloquent man of his age, or of any since, the character of the Christian Cicero being no less commonly than deservedly bestowed upon him; nay, some have ventured to affirm, that in some cases he has outdone the great Roman orator. However, this I think may be safely said, that for the sublimeness of his matter, the frequent pithiness of his sentences, the sweetness and pleasantness of his periods, the clearness and evenness of his style, (whose greatest fault, it may be, is, that it is too smooth and fine,) he has since the Ciceronian age had few equal, and perhaps none superior to him.

<sup>s</sup> Epist. xlix. ad Paulin. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 567.

<sup>t</sup> Life of St. Justin Martyr, n. xxii. vol. i. p. 252.

<sup>u</sup> A. S. [Abed. Seller] Remarks upon the State of the Church, &c. p. 372, &c. [Lond. 1609.]



## His Writings.

*Genuine.**Not extant.*

Institutionum Libri  
septem.

- I. De falsa Religione.
- II. De Origine Erroris.
- III. De falsa Sapientia.
- IV. De vera Sapientia.
- V. De Justitia.
- VI. De vero Cultu.
- VII. De Vita beata.

Institutionum Epitome.

De ira Dei.

De opificio Dei.

De mortibus persecutorum.

Fragmentum parvum de extremo Judicio.

Symposium.

Grammaticus.

Ὅδοιπορικόν.

Ad Asclepiadem, libri duo.

Ad Probum, Epistolarum libri quatuor.

Ad Severum, Epist. libri duo.

Ad Demetrianum, Epist. libri duo.

*Supposititious.*

Carmen de Phœnice.

Carmen de Pascha.

Carmen de passione Domini.

# THE LIFE OF PAUL, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

His ancestors, whence. His sustaining the inferior ecclesiastic orders under Metrophanes and Alexander. His succeeding in that see, when. His subscribing in the synod of Tyre, questioned. The Arians conspire, and prefer articles against him. His first banishment under Constantine. His return. Eusebius of Nicomedia, his ambitious intrusion into his see. Paul's flight to Rome, and courteous reception by pope Julius. Eusebius's death. Macedonius thrust up into that see. A great hubbub and sedition at Constantinople about that matter. Constantius's speedy return, suspension of Macedonius, and banishment of Paulus. His release in order to the synod at Sardica, but not permitted by his people to go thither. His last banishment, and private conveyance to Cucusus in Armenia. Messengers sent after to despatch him. Close imprisoned, starved, and strangled. Remarkable punishment of Philip, the governor, the manager of his murder. The honourable translation of his remains under Theodosius the Great.

ANTIQUITY has recorded nothing certain, either concerning the kindred or country of this worthy prelate, more than that his ancestors came from Thessalonica,<sup>a</sup> a famous city of Macedonia. After a preparatory education, he was entered among the clergy of Constantinople; and if credit may be given to the Acts in Photius,<sup>b</sup> he was reader under Metrophanes, bishop of that church, who a little before his death foretold his advancement to that see. They say further, that after the Nicene council, when Alexander was sent with the decrees of that synod into the neighbouring parts, he took Paul, then reader and registrar of that church, along with him, with whom he travelled over Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalia, Achaia, Greece, and the adjacent islands and countries, quieting and composing those unhappy controversies, with the determinations which that great council had made in matters of faith. But when they tell us, that Paul was at that time but twelve years of age, it is what will very hardly gain belief. Under Alexander, who succeeded Metrophanes, he

<sup>a</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Act. Metroph. et Alex. ap. Phot. Cod. CCLVI.

was advanced to the order, first of deacon, then of presbyter, and by him thoroughly seasoned and settled in the catholic faith.

II. Alexander, broken with extreme age,<sup>c</sup> (being ninety-eight years old,) and worn out with three and twenty years' cares of his episcopal office, was now drawing his last breath. And being asked by his clergy whom he would recommend to be his successor, answered, there were two especially whom they might have their eyes upon; Paul, young, but prudent beyond his years, a good preacher, and a man of an excellent and exemplary conversation; and Macedonius, an aged deacon, of a grave deportment, and fit to transact secular affairs. After the good bishop's death, factions ran high, the Arians stickling hard for Macedonius; but the catholic party carried it, and Paul was ordained in the old church of St. Irene, whereof, while presbyter, he had had the particular care and charge. The time of his promotion to this see is clogged with considerable difficulties. And, indeed, the ecclesiastical historians have wofully perplexed and confounded his affairs, which the learned Valesius has taken great pains to disentangle, whose adjustment of times we shall for the main steer by, though as to the time of Paul's succession we can by no means agree with him. He places the death of Alexander,<sup>d</sup> whom Paul succeeded, Ann. Chr. 331, whenas it is plain, by the uncontradicted testimony of all ancient writers, that Alexander was alive at the death of Arius, which happened not until anno 336; but being extraordinary aged, we may suppose died soon after, and that Paul succeeded that year. If Athanasius says he was bishop,<sup>e</sup> and Macedonius a presbyter under him, at the time of his being at Constantinople, there is no necessity to understand it of Athanasius's first being there soon after the council of Tyre, anno 335. He might be there afterwards, perhaps in his return from his German exile, or at some other time before Macedonius usurped the chair. As for Paul's being present in the synod of Tyre, and there subscribing the deposition and condemnation of Athanasius, (with which he is expressly charged by the Eastern bishops in their synodal epistle from Sardica,<sup>f</sup>) if true, he acted there as Alexander's delegate and representative. But I confess I am apt to suspect the story; and that a person, who was all along so brisk a stickler, and so deep a sufferer for the

<sup>c</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 6. Sozom. l. iii. c. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Obs. Eccles. l. ii. c. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Epist. ad monachos, s. l. vol. i. p. 348.

<sup>f</sup> Ap. Hilar. in fragm. iii. s. 13.



catholic cause, could not easily be guilty of so foul a crime, especially when not the least hint of any such thing is to be found in Athanasius, (who had reason enough to know who were his friends and who his enemies in that council,) no, nor in any history of that time. And for the Arian faction, what artifices they made use of to support their cause, or to defame their adversaries, cannot be unknown to any that have but looked into the accounts of this age. This being cleared, we proceed.

III. Scarce was Paul warm in his seat, when his adversaries began to heave him out. The Arians had been pretty well kept under during Alexander's life, whose age and authority they revered; and the late fatal vengeance that had overtaken Arius had cast no little damp upon them. But the scene being now changed, and a younger man stepped into the chair, and especially being vexed at the disappointment of their designs for Macedonius, they resume their courage, and prefer articles against him: sometimes he is charged with having unduly procured that see to himself,<sup>s</sup> without the consent of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theodore bishop of Heraclea, to whom, as the next bishops of note and eminency, it was pretended his ordination did belong. But this not being strong enough, they downright accuse him of immorality, of having lived a debauched and licentious course of life. These and some other calumnies are spread abroad, and being dressed up and aggravated by the chieftains of their party, are buzzed into Constantine's ears; who either wearied with their importunities, or over-credulously giving heed to their false suggestions, yields, as just before he had done in the case of Athanasius, and so by his order (for to him Athanasius expressly ascribes his first exile) he is banished into Pontus, which we may conceive was done about the latter end of anno 336, or the beginning of the following year. Here he continued till the death of that great prince, whose three sons and successors,<sup>h</sup> at their very first entrance upon their government, published letters and edicts for the recalling the banished bishops, and among them our present bishop returned and repossessed himself of his see of Constantinople.

IV. But he was not suffered to enjoy any long ease or quiet: for Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, a man of a proud and aspiring temper, had cast an eye upon the see of Constantinople. He had

<sup>s</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Athan. ad monachos, s. 8.

heretofore procured himself to be translated from Berytus to Nicomedia, as a place of greater honour and importance, it having for many years been the seat and residence of the emperors. But seeing the imperial court fixed at Constantinople, and finding Constantius (to whose share the Eastern part of the empire was fallen) a prince inclinable enough to be swayed by his counsels, he revives the accusations against Paul, with which he found it no hard matter to possess the mind of that credulous prince, who no sooner came to the government, but had declared himself in favour of the Arians. Hereupon a synod of their own party is convened,<sup>i</sup> by whom Paul is condemned and deposed. Whether he was formally banished, is not said; probable it is, that finding Constantinople not safe for his stay there, he conceived it his prudence and interest to retire, and so voluntarily travelled into the Western parts: the first place we find him at is Thessalonica,<sup>k</sup> which, if not his own, was the birth-place of his ancestors; thence pretending to go to Corinth, (perhaps to avoid some attempts of his enemies,) he took ship and sailed into Italy, and went to Rome,<sup>l</sup> whither about the same time came Athanasius, Asclepas bishop of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Lucius of Adrianople. They were courteously entertained by pope Julius, who being satisfied in the goodness of their cause, and the injustice of their sufferings, did what in him lay to restore them to their several sees, gave them letters of communion to that end, and wrote in their behalf to the bishops of the East. After this, it seems, he went to the court of the emperor Constans, (for there we find him and Athanasius,<sup>m</sup>) who wrote sharply in their behalf to his brother Constantius, threatening, that unless he speedily restored them to their churches, he would himself come and do it, whether he would or no; which, if at any time, was done now, though Socrates misplaces it some years after, about the time of the Sardican council.

V. But leave we him for a while, and return to Constantinople, where the same synod that deposed him promoted Eusebius to that see; who being thus advantageously seated, managed the affairs of the Arian party to their great satisfaction. He continued in this eminent station till the council of Antioch, called under pretence of dedicating the great church there; soon

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. c. 16, et c. 17.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. c. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. c. 22.

after which he departed this life, about the year 342. Eusebius thus dead, and the place become vacant, the people call home their bishop,<sup>n</sup> who returned and took his place. But the Arians did not think fit to slip this opportunity, and therefore resolved now speedily to set up for Macedonius, whom in St. Paul's church they ordained bishop of Constantinople. The people, who had a mighty kindness for their old bishop, were enraged at what was done; and both parties being exasperated, the thing broke out into open tumult and sedition, which was followed with violence, blood, and slaughter. Constantius at this time lay at Antioch, being engaged in a war with Persia, where hearing of what had happened, he ordered Hermogenes, master of the horse, then going for Thrace, to pass through Constantinople, and to eject Paul out of the possession of his church. The commander coming into the city and attempting to execute his orders, found hotter service on it than he expected: for the people rose up in arms to defend their bishop, and when Hermogenes sent a party of soldiers to force obedience, it did but blow them up into a greater rage; so that forgetting all measures of duty and allegiance, they ran to Hermogenes's house, set it on fire, and dragging him out by the heels, and drawing him through the streets, put him to death. The news of this barbarous and unjustifiable action was soon carried to the emperor,<sup>o</sup> who was so horribly offended at it, that though then taken up with the affairs of his Persian war, though it was the depth of winter, and the weather extremely foul and tempestuous, yet, by post-horses laid for that purpose, he came with incredible speed to Constantinople, where having examined the matter, he banished Paul; and though, at the intercession of the senate, he put none to death, yet he punished the city by taking away one moiety of that daily allowance of corn (the whole was fourscore thousand bushels) which his father Constantine had bestowed upon it. Nor did Macedonius himself escape without a brand of the emperor's displeasure, who was offended at him, both because he had presumed to be made bishop without his leave, and because he had been part-cause of the late tumults and murders that had happened, and therefore suspended the execution of his place, and confined him only to officiate in the church wherein he had received his ordination.

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 12, 13.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Liban. Orat. iii. Basil. dict. p. 127, 128.



VI. Paul, loaded with iron chains, was sent to Singara,<sup>p</sup> a garrison in Mesopotamia, standing near the river Tigris upon the borders of Persia: a dangerous and disconsolate place, where he was perpetually liable to be invaded by barbarous enemies from without, and from within could expect no other treatment but what is usual to prisoners from merciless and mercenary soldiers. But here he stayed not long, for the place lying too open to the enemy, he was removed to Emisa, a city of Syria, seated upon the river Orontes, where he remained, for any thing we find to the contrary, several years, till a little before the time of the Sardican council; when Constantius, to comply with the importunity of his brother, had consented to the summoning of a synod, and released Paul in order to it, as a person immediately concerned in it. Coming to Constantinople, he intended to have gone on to Sardica, to be there at the opening of the council, but his people, not thinking it safe to expose him to the malice and treachery of his enemies, would not let him go.<sup>q</sup> And, indeed, that he was not present at that synod, whatever Socrates and Sozomen say to the contrary, is further evident from the letters both of the Eastern and Western bishops, who not only give no intimation of his being there, but plainly imply the contrary. However, his cause was judged as well as the rest; and as the Orientalists condemned and despised him as a ringleader of mischief, a person guilty of horrid crimes, so the Western prelates, who were the true Sardican council, by their synodal sentence acquitted and discharged him of those accusations, and restored him to his see.

VII. And now one would have thought he should have ended his days in peace, and rested quietly in the harbour after so many storms and shipwrecks. But no human happiness is to last long. The emperor Constans, the great patron and prop of the catholic cause, was basely murdered, February the 15th, anno 350: after whose death the catholic interest lost ground apace, and the Arians now carry all before them. And first they begin with Paul, whom the next year they traduce afresh to the emperor, and easily persuade him to espouse the quarrel. So command is sent to Philip,<sup>r</sup> the prætorian prefect of the

<sup>p</sup> Athan. ad monachos, s. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Theodor. l. ii. c. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 16. conf. cum c. 26. Theodor. ubi supr. Athan. ad monachos, s. 7. et Apol. pro fug. s. 3.

East, one true to their interest, and of greatest power and authority next the emperor, to eject Paul, and give Macedonius possession of his see. Philip had seen too much of the sad effects of putting things upon force and violence by the dear experience of Hermogenes, and therefore resolved more closely and cunningly to go to work. He sends for the bishop to come to him to Zeuxippus's bath, under pretence of business that did greatly import and concern the public, and therefore commanded his speedy attendance. Paul obeys: and being come into the house, the governor shews him the emperor's warrant; whereat the good bishop was nothing daunted, though he thought it hard measure to be condemned without any cause shewn, or being admitted to answer for himself. Philip dared not to trust the multitude, who, suspecting some ill design against their bishop, had flocked to the gates, and therefore ordered a back-door of the bath to be opened, by which Paul was conveyed into the palace, and thence immediately put a ship-board, and sent into banishment. The place appointed was Cucusus, a disconsolate and miserable town in Cappadocia, but afterwards laid to the Second Armenia, where there was nothing but rocks and wildness, cold and hunger, to entertain him. But this it seems they thought too good for him, and that while they afforded him breath, they could never account themselves secure enough. Therefore to make sure the work, they despatch messengers after him, who coming to the place, shut him up in a close and dark dungeon, without permitting any one to come near him, or the least bit of food to be given him. After six days they came into the room, expecting to have found him starved to death, but observing him yet to draw his breath, they strangled him with his own clothes, and then to colour the murder, gave it out that he died of a disease, though the whole vicinage knew the contrary; and Philagrius, who was *vicarius* or governor of that province, and servant enough to the Arian faction, told it with some wonder and amazement to several, and among the rest to Serapion, an Egyptian bishop, from whose mouth Athanasius reports it. But see how remarkably the divine justice overtook Philip, the prime agent that plotted, contrived, and executed this whole scheme of villany. Scarce had twelve months gone over his head, when he was disgracefully turned out of all his

honours and offices, and made a scorn and reproach to all his enemies. Which made so deep an impression upon his mind, that, as if he inherited Cain's curse, he went up and down like a vagabond and a wanderer, ran from place to place, but was still pursued by his guilty conscience, and expected that every one that found him should slay him; till no longer able to hold up his head, he ended his miserable life, far both from his friends and country.

VIII. But how barbarously soever God suffered our bishop to be sent out of the world, how obscurely soever his body was thrown into the earth, yet God not long after raised up his name with honour. For the emperor Theodosius, in the great council at Constantinople, anno 381, understanding the hard fate of this good man, gave order, before the assembly was dispersed,<sup>s</sup> for the translating his remains to the imperial city. Nectarius, accompanied with as many bishops as were left, went out as far as beyond Chalcedon to meet the corpse, which, with singing psalms, and other solemn rites, they brought through the streets of the city into the church of St. Irene, whereof he himself had sometime had the cure. The night was spent in hymns and psalms; and next morning the whole city, with all the prelates and clergy and the emperor, assembled, and with all honourable solemnity laid him in his tomb. This church was afterwards enlarged and beautified, and from him took the name of St. Paul, which ignorance and the multitude mistaking,<sup>t</sup> begot the tradition in after-times, that St. Paul the apostle was buried there. And Baronius tells us,<sup>u</sup> that some ages after, the head of this martyr was taken up, and sent by the Greeks for an inestimable present to the queen of France, as the head of that great apostle. But she, not knowing what to say to it, sent to Rome to consult the apostolic chair, and by the answer of pope Clement the Fourth was shewed the mistake, and convinced that the head of the apostle was only preserved at Rome, the place of his martyrdom and interment. But whatever became of our martyr's bones, they were the only remains he left behind him, having consigned nothing that we know of to writing to preserve his memory; his peculiar talent lay in preaching, and

<sup>s</sup> Vit. Pauli ap. Phot. Cod. CCLVII. Socrat. l. v. c. 9.

<sup>t</sup> Niceph. l. xii. c. 14.

<sup>u</sup> Not. ad Martyr. Rom. Jun. 7.



by that he infinitely endeared himself to the people. And, indeed, his frequent banishments and constant sufferings gave him little leisure, and perhaps less stomach, to write books, whose mind was continually disquieted with his own personal sufferings, but much more with the evils and troubles that befell the church of God.

# THE LIFE OF JULIUS,

## BISHOP OF ROME.

His birth-place and kindred. His advancement to the see of Rome, when. His zeal for the catholic cause; his kindness to, and concernment for Athanasius and others. His citing the Eusebian faction to a public hearing. Athanasius acquitted by him in a synod at Rome. Julius's letter to the synod at Antioch. Gregory of Alexandria's agents rejected at Rome. The libel of satisfaction, presented by Valens and Ursacius to Julius. Julius deposed by the Eastern bishops at Sardica. The canons for appeals to Rome passed in the synod at Sardica, shewed to be not standing rules, but only personal and provisionary, and suited to that time. Julius's letter to congratulate the return of Athanasius: his public buildings at Rome. The time of his death. Supposititious epistles entitled to him. His writings.

JULIUS was by birth a Roman, the son of Rusticus, a citizen of Rome: upon the death of pope Marcus, who sat not above nine months, he was advanced to the apostolic chair (as the ancient catalogue of the bishops of that see, put out first by Cuspinian, and then by Bucherius, informs us<sup>a</sup>) on the 6th of February, Ann. Chr. 337. He was a stiff and strenuous asserter of the Nicene faith, and a vigorous opposer of the Arian faction, and to that end gave Athanasius (whose cause was then looked on as the common cause of religion) all the protection and assistance which the eminency of his station rendered him capable to afford. No sooner, by the death of Constantine, was that great man released from his banishment at Triers, and resettled in his see at Alexandria, but the Arians began anew to combine and make head against him. And the better to ruin his interest and reputation abroad, they wrote to the new emperors,<sup>b</sup> the three sons of Constantine, whom they endeavoured to possess with all the prejudices and villanous insinuations, which either heretofore they had, or of late they could invent. But especially they

<sup>a</sup> Comment. in Vict. Can. pasch. c. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Athan. Apol. c. Arian. s. 3.

wrote to pope Julius, whom they hoped to make of their party, at least to assent and ratify the act that had passed against Athanasius in the synod at Tyre. This was no sooner understood at Alexandria, but Athanasius convened a synod of his own bishops, who wrote a circular epistle in his behalf, wherein, by a plain account of things, they vindicate him at large from those gross and scandalous aspersions which had been cast upon him. This letter he sent by his presbyters to Rome, where they so confounded Macarius,<sup>c</sup> Martyrius, and Hesychius, the legates of Eusebius and the Eastern bishops, that they were forced to request Julius, that a general synod being had, the cause on both sides might be fully and impartially heard, and they have leave to maintain and make good their charge. Notice hereof Julius presently sent to Athanasius,<sup>d</sup> leaving it to his choice, to appoint time and place for the meeting of the council.

II. While matters were thus depending, Eusebius and his party resolve upon a synod at Antioch; wherein, among other things, they depose Athanasius, and ordain one Gregory, a Cappadocian, in his room, who prepares with great force and violence to make his way unto that see. Upon the first rumour of this, Athanasius prudently retires,<sup>e</sup> and, according to the invitation Julius had sent him, goes to Rome, where he was welcome to pope Julius; who, in the interim, had sent Elpidius and Philoxenus with letters into the East, to cite the Eusebians to appear, telling them withal, that unless they surceased their innovations, some other course should be taken. The council sitting at Antioch, and having no mind after all to come to a fair and equal trial, delayed the business beyond the appointed time, and then dismissed Julius's legates with sharp letters to him,<sup>f</sup> letting him know, that though he had the greater see, they were not otherwise inferior to him; that they took it ill that he had communicated with Athanasius, an accused and condemned person, whose cause to espouse was to affront their synod, and in effect to null their sentence, which they looked upon to be highly unjust, and contrary to the rule of the church; that, in short, if he would reject those whom they had deposed, and receive them whom they had substituted in their places, they were ready to hold peace and communion with him; if not,

<sup>c</sup> Athan. Apol. c. Arian. s. 22.

<sup>e</sup> Athan. *ibid.* s. 11. Theodor. l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Athan. ad monachos, s. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 8.



they renounced him and his communion. Upon the receipt of this letter, pope Julius called a synod at Rome; where the epistles being read, Athanasius's cause was heard, and he acquitted, and restored to communion; and Julius desired, in the name of the synod, to write back to the Eastern bishops, which he accordingly did, complaining of the bitterness and tartness of their letters,<sup>g</sup> and that contrary to the canons of the church they had not invited him to their synod, whereas ecclesiastic rule and custom had made the bishops of Rome to be concerned in all important determinations; that they had sily and secretly corrupted the faith; that for the acts done heretofore at the synod of Tyre, (about which they raised so much noise and clamour,) they had been obtained by surprise and fraud; and for the memorials of what was done in the province of Maræotis, they had been drawn up only by one party; and as for the murder of Arsenius, it had been openly proved to be a pure cheat and fiction. But the letter itself is extant at large in Athanasius, whither the capable reader may have recourse for his satisfaction.<sup>h</sup>

III. Gregory, the Cappadocian, had by this time stormed the see of Alexandria, and taken possession, and, if possible, to put a good colour upon a bad cause, had sent away Carpones, a presbyter, to Rome,<sup>i</sup> to manage and make the best of his cause, but Julius refused to see him, much more to give him audience. Several years Athanasius continued in these Western parts, though no fair means were omitted for his restitution. Anno 347, a convention of bishops was held at Milan, whither pope Julius sent his legates; where the confession and requests of the Eastern prelates were rejected, and Ursacius and Valens, two Arian bishops, and the common tools and instruments of that faction, were, upon their public recantation, admitted to communion. The like penitential libel they soon after presented to pope Julius,<sup>k</sup> wherein they acknowledge the ill things they had falsely said against Athanasius, and, that though Julius had often warned them to make good the charge, yet they had not done it; that they now solemnly professed it was all scene and fiction, and of no force, in evidence whereof they were most ready to embrace Athanasius's communion, especially since Julius had

<sup>g</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 17.

<sup>h</sup> Apol. c. Arian. s. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. s. 24.

<sup>k</sup> Ext. ap. Athan. *ibid.* s. 58. Sozom. l. iii. c. 23.

given them assurance that their former misdemeanours should be pardoned; protesting, that they would henceforth have nothing to do with the Eastern bishops in these matters; that they did most solemnly anathematize Arius as an heretic, and all his followers, who denied the divinity and eternity of the Son of God; that they did now renew, and would always stick to the libel they had lately given in to the synod at Milan, which by this writing, under their own hands, they did ratify; and that they did once more and for ever condemn the Arian heresy, and all its authors and partakers. This declaration they subscribed, but according to the guise of the men, who were wont to change with every wind, afterwards retracted it, and went again over to the Arians.

IV. Soon after the assembly at Milan, by the great instance and importunity which pope Julius used with the emperor Constans, and he with his brother Constantius, a more general synod was holden at Sardica, where the Eastern bishops refused to join with them of the West, unless Athanasius and his fellow-sufferers were first expelled their company: which not being yielded to, the synod was kept in separate meetings. The Orientalists, in their assembly, confirmed what had been heretofore done against Athanasius and his partners; depose several of the most eminent bishops of the other side,<sup>1</sup> and among them especially Julius bishop of Rome, *ut principem et ducem malorum*, (as they style him,) as the captain and ringleader of the whole mischief, as he that had first set open the door to communion with wicked and condemned persons, and had chalked out the way for others to trample upon the laws of religion and the church, and had boldly presumed to defend Athanasius, a person whose neither witnesses nor accusers he had heard. In the catholic synod, Athanasius and the rest were heard, absolved and restored, and the Nicene creed confirmed, and a letter written to Julius, to let him know what was done, and to desire him to disperse the synodal decrees about those parts. Among the canons passed in this council, the third, fourth, and fifth are in favour of pope Julius, granting him power to receive appeals out of other provinces. where, if bishops were aggrieved at home, or unjustly deposed, or that their case could not conveniently be determined, they might

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Epist. Orient. ap. Hilar. in fragm. x.

have recourse to Julius of Rome, who should have power to appoint commissioners to hear and decide those causes : which yet did not invest the Roman bishops with any standing super-eminent prerogative over the rest of the church, but only made provisionary decrees to comply with the present exigencies and necessities of the church : as is evident to any one that considers the state of the church at that time, when the Arians having filled all corners, and possessed themselves of all eminent bishoprics, bore hard upon the catholic bishops in all places, who were thrust out and banished, nor could they have any right done them at home, as was plain in the case of Athanasius, Asclepas, &c., who were then in council, and were the only occasion of the calling of it : which made it necessary to have some certain person to recur to upon such occasions ; and who could be so proper for that purpose as the bishop of Rome, which as it was the most eminent and illustrious see, so were its bishops in those days most renowned for their integrity and firm adherence to the catholic cause ? And, indeed, the canons seem to entail this privilege rather upon the person of pope Julius, than upon the see of Rome, as not designing it for a standing and unalterable law, but which was to expire with the occasion of it. In short, as the Sardican council was never accounted any other than a particular synod, so neither were the decrees of it held in any great reverence and estimation, as appeared in the beginning of the following *æculum*, in the known case of appeals in the African church, whereof more in another place. The council at Sardica being dissolved, Athanasius, not long after, was recalled by letters from Constantius, and accordingly went to Rome to take his leave of his dear friend Julius, who heartily rejoiced in his good success, and wrote by him to the clergy and people of Alexandria,<sup>m</sup> to congratulate the return of their excellent bishop, whom he highly commends, as for other things, so for his constant and courageous suffering for the cause of Christ.

V. Thus far we have viewed him in his more public actings, nor was he less careful and industrious in his private station. Besides the welfare of his charge, he studied to add to the external beauty and magnificence of his see. Two new churches he erected at Rome, one near the Forum Romanum ; the other

<sup>m</sup> Ext. Epist. ap. Athan. c. Arian. s. 52.



in the Via Flaminia, within the Transtiberine region: he built three cemeteries, or burying-places, one in the Flaminian Way, another in the Aurelian, and the third in the Via Portuensis. He ordained that no clergyman should try his cause any where but in the ecclesiastical court, and that notaries should make acts and registers of all that was done; the care whereof was to lie upon the prothonotary, who was to superintend those records. He died the 12th of April, anno 352, after he had sitten in the chair fifteen years, one month, and eleven days, (according to the ancient catalogue mentioned before; but to make up the time exact, from February the 6th to the 12th of April, almost a month more must be allowed,) and was buried in the cemetery of Calepodius, in the Aurelian Way. He left nothing in writing behind him, besides a few epistles, and some of them too, as now extant, spurious. And, indeed, they began this trade with his name betimes. Not long after his death, an epistle was produced, as if written by him to Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, concerning the incarnation of our Lord, favouring some of the heretical principles of those times, which therefore so puzzled Gennadius, that he knew not what to make of it,<sup>n</sup> affirming, that though it might be useful at first, yet, that then it was pernicious and heretical. But Leontius, the learned advocate of Constantinople,<sup>o</sup> has long since sufficiently discovered the imposture, and proved it to have been the epistle, not of pope Julius, but Apollinaris, whose *dogmata* it did plainly assert. He tells us likewise of another inserted under his name into the Acts of the council of Ephesus, but written truly by Timotheus, one of the main sticklers for the doctrine of Apollinaris.

<sup>n</sup> De script. Eccles. c. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Lib. de sect. Act. viii. vol. ii. p. 526. bibl. patr. Gr. Lat. ed. 1624.

#### His Writings.

##### *Genuine.*

Epistola ad Orientales, Gr. Lat. ap. Athan.  
et Concill.  
Epistola ad Alexandrinos. Gr. Lat. *locis*  
*citat.*  
Fragmenta Epistolarum apud Gratianum,  
etc.

##### *Spurious.*

Epistola ad Orientales increpatoria.  
Epistola 2da. contra Orientales.  
De incarnatione Domini, Epistola, N. E.

# THE LIFE OF EUSEBIUS,

## BISHOP OF EMISA.

The place of his nativity. His early education in the knowledge of the scriptures. His instruction in divine and human learning, under what masters. His declining the offer of a bishopric. The improvement of his studies at Alexandria. His peremptory refusal of the see of Alexandria, then vacated by the council of Antioch, and why. Ordained bishop of Emisa, but excepted against by the people, upon what account. His retirement, and return back to that charge. His death. The great esteem had of him. The charge of Arianism and Sabellianism by different parties fastened upon him. His parts and learning. Homilies falsely fathered on him. An inquiry whether any of his writings be now extant.

EUSEBIUS was born of an ancient and noble family at Edessa,<sup>a</sup> a chief city in Mesopotamia, where Christianity had been early planted by Thaddeus, one of the Seventy, and cultivated by the after-endeavours of St. Jude the apostle; and had taken such deep root, that it flourished in all succeeding times, and no city in all the Eastern parts became so famous for its zealous and resolute profession of the Christian faith. He was, like a second Timothy, “from his childhood acquainted with the holy scriptures,” according to the pious custom of that place; where one of the first things they did, was to instil the rudiments of the faith into their children, that so their reason and religion might grow up together. Next he was committed to the ablest masters of human learning in that city, by whom he was instructed in all the eloquence, wisdom, and philosophy of the Greeks, wherein he became one of the greatest masters of that age. But still he thought he wanted the accomplishment of that more divine philosophy which Christianity had taught the world: for which end he put himself under the discipline of two of the most learned scholars of those times; Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis; under whom he studied theology,

<sup>a</sup> Socrat. l. ii. c. 9. Sozom. l. iii. c. 6.

and the exposition of the sacred scriptures : and from them, it is like, he borrowed some notions, that made him afterwards suspected of an inclination towards Arianism.

II. Thus furnished, he came and settled himself at Antioch, the most eminent city of the East, at the time when Eustathius, the venerable bishop of that see, was accused by Cyrus, bishop of Berœa, as a favourer of Sabellianism, for which he was deposed ; though there was something else that lay at the bottom. He lived some time with Euphronius, one of them that succeeded Eustathius, and that with so great fame and reputation that he was pressed to accept a bishopric, and that with so much earnestness, that to avoid the importunity he resolved to quit that place. Indeed, his vast and capacious soul was not yet satisfied with those great attainments he had already made ; but was still roving after farther measures and degrees of knowledge, and to that purpose he went to Alexandria, where there were the most famous professors of all the more abstruse and mysterious parts of learning. Here he perfected himself in the utmost improvements of philosophy : after which he returned back to Antioch, and lived familiarly with Flaccillus, Euphronius's successor in that see.

III. Anno 341, Eusebius, bishop of Constantinople, conspiring with the chief of the Arian party, held a great council at Antioch ; wherein, among other things, having condemned and deposed Athanasius, their next work was to fill up his see. And for that, none appeared every way so fitly qualified as our Eusebius ; a man of a strict life and eloquent tongue, whereby they hoped he would be able to charm the people of Alexandria, and bring them off from their unreasonable fondness of Athanasius. But he prudently declined the offer, wisely considering how uneasy that chair must be to any man, out of which Athanasius had been turned ; for whom he knew the people had a most dear regard, and that they would not endure any to be thrust up into his room. But though the synod could not prevail with him in this matter, yet were they loth the church should lose so useful and excellent a person ; and therefore persuaded him to accept the bishopric of Emisa, a city in Phœnicia, near mount Libanus, not many miles distant from Laodicea. Thither he went to receive his consecration : but the people, informed of his incomparable skill in astronomy and the mathematics, cried out



against him as a conjurer, and mutinied against his ordination ; so that foreseeing how little quiet he was to expect among them, he left them, and went to Laodicea, to his dear and intimate friend George, bishop of that place, who survived him, and wrote his Life. George brought him back to Antioch, where, upon consultation with Flaccillus and Narcissus, it was resolved that he should return to his charge at Emisa ; which he did accordingly, and where it is probable he continued till his death, which happened about the year 360, not long before that of the emperor Constantius : he died and was buried at Antioch, the place where he had spent a considerable portion of his life.

He was of great esteem in the age he lived in, highly honoured by Constantius himself, who was so exceedingly delighted in his company, that he used to take him along with him in his Persian expeditions ; and if George of Laodicea may be credited, he was famous for many miracles which he wrought. He passes under a very different character : by some he is said to have been an Arian ; and by St. Jerome,<sup>b</sup> to have been *Arianæ signifer factionis*, (a title which he claps upon more than one Eusebius,) though when he speaks of him elsewhere more fully,<sup>c</sup> he says no such matter. By others, he was directly charged with Sabellianism, but it was by such, says Sozomen, who were enviously tormented with the virtues of others. Were his writings extant, they would enable us to judge more critically and certainly in this matter. All that we can now guess is, that from his ordinarily corresponding with the Arians, he leaned towards that side ; and perhaps was of the moderate or Homoiousian party. He was a man, says St. Jerome, *Elegantis et rhetorici ingenii*, of neat and eloquent parts, and wrote many books and discourses, and those in a popular and familiar strain : in his expounding scripture, he kept most commonly to the literal sense, as the truest and most immediate way to understand its meaning. He employed his pen against Jews and Gentiles, Novatians, and such like, and in writing brief notes and strictures upon the gospels. Vast numbers of homilies have been heretofore published under his name, which it is plain were the works of Eucherius of Lyons, and several others. Nothing genuine of his has yet been brought to light ; though it may perhaps deserve the reader's inquiry, whether those thirteen

<sup>b</sup> Chron. ad Ann. 348.

<sup>c</sup> De script. c. 91.

books or homilies confidently published by Sirmond, under the name of Eusebius Cæsariensis, be not rather the work of this Eusebius, who was his scholar ; and who, it may be, composed the two first, which are against Sabellius, to clear himself from the charge of that heresy. Certain it is, that they savour not the vein and way of writing used by the Cæsarean Eusebius ; nor has Sirmond any argument or authority to support his confidence, more than that he found it so inscribed in the ancient copy. And who knows not how easy it was for transcribers, when they met with a work entitled to Eusebius, to clap Pamphilus to it, as supposing it to belong to Eusebius of Cæsarea, as the person best known among the writers of the Latin church. But in this I leave every one to his own conjecture.

## His Works.

*Not extant.*

Ἑποθέσεων, libri decem.

In Evangelia Homiliæ breves, sed plurimæ.

*Supposititious.*

In Evangelia totius Anni Homiliæ breves.

Homiliæ 50, varii argumenti.

# THE LIFE OF EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, DEACON OF EDESSA.

His birth-place. The care taken of his education. The great pregnancy and strictness of his early age. His eloquent speech presignified to him by a vision. His vast attainments in learning. His retired life. His changing that course, and fixing at Edessa. What happened to him at his first coming thither. His sober and abstemious course of life. His feigning himself distracted, to avoid the offer of a bishopric. His journey to Cæsarea to converse with St. Basil, and the satisfaction he reaped by that intercourse. His return to Edessa. The extraordinary care he took of the poor in a common famine. His charge to his friends upon his death-bed. What happened to one that complied not with that charge. His dying reflections upon the integrity of his life; and last exhortation. The time of his death. His exemplary piety, and love to God, purity of mind, devotion, abstinence, contempt of the world, charity, and humility. His hearty and immoveable zeal for the catholic faith. His memorable device to shame and confound Apollinaris. His natural and acquired accomplishments. The great advantages of his natural eloquence. The elegance of his discourses, though translated into other languages. His composing hymns for the use of the Syrian churches, in imitation of Bardesanes. The vast number of his writings. None of these extant, but what are translated into Latin.

ST. EPHRAIM was born (as the Greeks will have it) at Edessa, but as Sozomen tells us,<sup>a</sup> at Nisibis, (at least thereabouts,) a well-known city of Mesopotamia, standing upon the river Tigris; which I am the rather inclined to believe, because Gregory Nyssen,<sup>b</sup> comparing his case to that of Abraham, plainly opposes Edessa to the place of his nativity. His parents were Christians, who took all due care of his education: his recreation, as well as his employment, was to read, study, and meditate upon the holy scriptures, which was attended with an honesty and piety of mind far above his childish years, and from which he suffered not the familiarity of his equals to divert him; whose vain or vicious company and conversation he did studiously avoid: by which means he attained to a vast comprehension of divine

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iii. c. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Enc. S. Ephr. vol. ii. p. 1036.



knowledge, which with a mighty grace and eloquence flowed naturally from him. And this, heaven was pleased to signify to him by a vision in his early years,<sup>c</sup> (which he was wont oft to speak of;) he thought he saw a most fruitful vine growing from the root of his tongue, which did so spread and enlarge itself, that it filled the whole earth, and all the fowls of heaven came and eat of the fruit of it; while the vine, the more it was plucked, and its fruit devoured, did so much the farther increase, and was loaded with more and heavier clusters: a clear representation of that plentiful portion of divine and excellent gifts wherewith heaven was resolved to crown his studies. And it fell out accordingly, for while he yet understood little (if any thing) more than the language of his own country,<sup>d</sup> besides his profound skill in theology, he attained to a vast proficiency in foreign learning; so as to be able to master the hardest and most difficult theorems in philosophy, and by the wisdom, clearness, and eloquency of his discourses outwent the wisest sages of Greece.

II. The former part of his age he spent in solitudes, and the exercises of a retired life;<sup>e</sup> where, being free from the noise and crowd, he might quietly converse with angels, and entertain himself with pious and divine contemplations. But God seasonably brought it into his mind, that we were not born merely for ourselves, but were obliged to help forwards the welfare and happiness of others. This made him resolve to quit his solitary recess, and betake himself to the great city of Edessa, both that he might partake in the benefit of their public and solemn assemblies, and meet with some wise and good man, unto whose conduct and instruction he might commit himself, and from whom he might receive further knowledge himself, or at least might have an opportunity to impart it unto others. At his entrance into the gate of the city,<sup>f</sup> instead of the wise man he had so much wished for, he met with a common strumpet, who earnestly fixed her eyes upon him, while he, ashamed to fall so short of his expectation, turned his face from her. Woman, (said he,) tell me why dost thee so wishfully behold me? I do, replied the woman, and not without reason; for what can be more fit and proper, than to look up to thee, out of whom, as the

<sup>c</sup> Nyss. *ibid.* p. 1037.

<sup>d</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>e</sup> Nyss. *enc. S. Ephr.* vol. ii. p. 1036.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. etiam Sozom. l. iii. c. 16.

man, was I formed and made, whereas thou oughtest to look not to me, but to the ground, out of which thou wast created. An answer which he did not expect, and he inwardly blessed the Divine Providence, that had turned the chance to so good advantage: and was so greatly delighted with the remembrance of it, that he wrote a book particularly upon that occasion; esteemed one of the best he ever wrote.

III. At Edessa he fixed his station, where, though he was in the midst of a populous city, he kept to the strictness of a monastic life, by the severities whereof he perfectly conquered all extravagant passions; so that though naturally extremely inclined to choler, he so entirely subdued it, that he was never after seen to be angry in all his life. When he espied his man under some terror and consternation for having spilt the dinner he was bringing to him, after he had fasted several days together, (as he often did,) he pleasantly told him, Dont be troubled, let us go to the meat, since the meat will not come to us; and so went and sat down, and took his repast of the fragments that were left upon the broken shivers of the pot. Besides the constant returns of private devotion, he preached frequently and with infinite satisfaction to the people. Scholars he had in great numbers, that diligently attended upon his lectures, who became famous in those parts of the world; such as Abbas, Zenobius, Habraam, Maras, Symeones, Paulonas, and Aranad, though the two last turned aside to the errors of Apollinaris. He attained no higher degree than that of deacon in the church of Edessa; not that he might not, but that he would not. He was elected to a bishopric, (probably the see of Edessa,) and the order was bringing to him, and persons sent to conduct him to his ordination; which he no sooner got notice of, but in a frantic manner, and with his garments hanging loose, and dragging after him, he ran into the forum; where he fell to his victuals, and by uncouth and fantastic gestures put on the habit of a madman: which when they who were sent to apprehend him, found, they dismissed him as a man distracted; by which means he gained an opportunity to escape, and concealed himself, till another person was ordained to the place.

IV. About the year 370, he took a journey, and that, as himself tells us,<sup>s</sup> by a divine admonition, to Cæsarea in Cappadocia;

<sup>s</sup> Ephr. Orat. de Laud. Basil. vol. iii. p. 54. Cotelarii eccles. Gr. monum.

where he saw and with admiration heard the great St. Basil preaching to the people of that place, and remarked the order and comeliness, the ardour and piety of their devotions: and what is more, we are told,<sup>h</sup> that he beheld a bright shining dove sitting upon Basil's right shoulder, prompting him with words of heavenly wisdom, which he immediately scattered among the people. Basil had it made known to him, who this great man was; and calling him to him, asked him by an interpreter, Whether he was not Ephraim? upon whose confession, he saluted him with the most endeared embraces, entered into mutual conferences and discourses; the venerable bishop imparting to him at his request, the most excellent rules for the government of the divine life. Loaded with the satisfaction of a well-spent journey, Ephraim returns to Edessa; where he improved the small remainder of his life to the most public and useful purposes. Not long before his death, a severe famine raged in the city,<sup>i</sup> and the helpless died in great multitudes unregarded. He waited some time to see what care would be taken in the common calamity; but finding little or none, he left his cell, and sharply reproved the rich and the wealthy for suffering their poor neighbours to starve, while they hoarded up their stores to the ruin of their own souls, which he shewed them were of infinitely more value than all their riches, or whatever else concerned the body, how much soever they slighted and neglected them. The men were ashamed, and turned it off by telling him, they did not stand so much upon their money, but the world was so bad, so full of fraud and self-interest, that they knew not where to find a man in whose hands they might safely trust this affair. He asked them, what they thought of him? They all confessed they looked upon him as a good man, a very honest and faithful person. "Why then (said he) I will undertake it." So receiving their charity, he caused three hundred beds to be brought into the public cloisters of the city, and those whom want and languishment had made weak and impotent to be placed in them; whom he provided both of food and physic. He took care also of strangers, and those whom necessity had driven out of the neighbouring country, and furnished them with all necessary accommodations. And thus he continued till the dearth abated, and then he returned back to his cell again; and within few days

<sup>h</sup> Nyss. enc. S. Ephr. p. 1037.

<sup>i</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 16.



after was arrested with his last sickness. Lying upon his death-bed,<sup>k</sup> he strictly charged his attendants to abstain from any pompous solemnity at his funeral; that they should sing no funeral hymns, nor have any encomiastic oration at his burial, provide no costly shrouds to enwrap him, nor any peculiar monument to receive him; that he desired nothing but the portion of a pilgrim, for that he accounted himself but as a "stranger and sojourner as all his fathers were;" that if any person, out of respect to him, had designed any such chargeable kindness, they should divert the cost, and bestow it upon the poor. There happened to be present a person of quality, who had provided a very rich and costly shroud for his interment;<sup>l</sup> which he thought too good to give to the poor, and resolved rather to give its value in money. Whereupon (says mine author, a person of unquestionable credit, who lived at that time, and in those parts of the world) he was immediately taken after the manner of a possessed person, and fell down at the bed-side, foaming and tearing like the most wild demoniac. The good man espying the sad spectacle, asked him what he had done to bring this upon him, who presently confessed the truth; whereupon Ephraim laid his hands upon him, and having prayed for him, restored him to his health and senses, and dismissed him with this charge, "Go thy way, friend, and perform what thou hast long since proposed and promised to thyself." After this, reflecting upon the course of his own life, he told the company, "Never in my whole life (said he<sup>m</sup>) did I any ways willingly reproach or dishonour God; nor has foolish and vain talk at any time gone out of my lips: I have cursed or miscalled no man, nor have I ever had the least contentious quarrel with any honest man in all my life." So long as his breath served, he most earnestly pressed all about him to a vigorous emulation in the practice of goodness and virtue, as his last discourse (says Nyssen<sup>n</sup>) does sufficiently shew. And indeed there is still extant a dying speech, or his last will and testament, (as it is called,) wherein there is an excellent vein of piety, and very pathetical exhortations, and admirable counsels and rules for an holy life; but it is too large to be inserted in this place. He died, as may probably be conjectured, about the year 378, (not

<sup>k</sup> Nyss. enc. S. Ephr. p. 1039.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 1032.

<sup>l</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 1045.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 1046.

long after the death of St. Basil,) January the 28th, as the Greeks observe it, or the 1st of February, according to the account of the Western church. In an ancient monastery at Constantinople,<sup>o</sup> called Sula, vulgarly the Six Marbles, heretofore the palace of the patriarch, but now inhabited by Armenians, his effigies, being an original, is yet preserved, with this sentence at his right hand: *Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΚΑΘΕΡΟΥΣΙΝ*, "Charity and continency purify the soul."

V. A man he was of as religious a temper and as strict a life as that, or perhaps any age, has produced; he had all the virtues that can render a man great and excellent, and this that crowned all the rest, that he would not know it, nor cared to hear of it; being desirous, as Nyssen tells us,<sup>p</sup> *οὐ δοκεῖν ἀλλ' εἶναι χρηστὸς*, "not to seem, but to be really good." He loved God above all things; conversed with him by divine meditations, and the constant returns of duty. The scriptures he read continually, considered and thought upon them; "and while he was musing, the fire kindled," and his soul was inflamed with love, and mounted up nearer unto heaven. He refined his faculties from all gross and sensual passions; and did as absolutely govern his appetites, as the master does the horse he rides on. He fasted, and prayed, and wept a great part of his time; and his frequent reflections upon the public or private state of things seldom left him dry eyes. When he had done preaching, he went to prayer,<sup>q</sup> and then fell to discoursing afresh, and then would burst into tears, and after that to prayer again; and this was *ὁ λόγος τοῦ λόγου*, "the very life and spirit of his sermons." He had so kept under his body by abstinence and strict severities, that he seemed insensible of pleasure; he indulged himself no more sleep than what was just necessary to keep him alive, and that too upon the bare ground. No man with greater generosity despised the world,<sup>r</sup> with all the riches, honours, pomps, and pleasures of it. He spoke it with some kind of triumph when he lay a dying; "Ephraim has had neither purse, staff, nor scrip; gold or silver, or any thing else, have I not possessed. I hearkened to our Lord in the gospel, who said, Ye shall possess nothing upon

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Possev. Appar. vol. i. p. 597.

<sup>p</sup> Nyss. enc. S. Ephr. p. 1028. vid. p. 1033, etc.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 1038. C.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. ibid. p. 1030, et 1039.

earth; which suppressed all greedy and inordinate desires after these things." He thought most modestly of himself, and that every thing was too high and good for him; he looked upon commendations as so many abuses put upon him, and when at any time he could not avoid them, would cast his eyes down to the ground, and vent himself in silent tears. His bowels were acted with a very quick compassion, and he had a common concernment for the poor; and when his voluntary relinquishing of the world had left him nothing to give himself, he thought himself obliged the more strongly to move others to acts of mercy and charity, which he never did but with great success; for who was able to resist the force of his arguments, and that mighty *πάθος*, that hearty and most affectionate spirit and temper, with which he was wont to set it home upon them.

VI. He lived in an age of strife and bustle, wherein the several contending parties in religion sought to undermine each other, and every one to establish their particular sentiments and opinions as the doctrines of the church. But he always kept on the catholic side;<sup>s</sup> and steered the middle way between Sabellianism on the one hand, and Arianism on the other. His great zeal for truth made him readily encounter with any error; which he refuted with no little warmth and briskness, both by discourse and writing. He thought he could not do better service to the church than to recover men back to truth, to stop the infection that "spreads like a cancer," and to shame and put to silence the boldness and subtlety of those that "lie in wait to deceive:" whereof one passage must not be forgotten; his countryman Apollinaris had filled those parts with the venom of his poisonous principles,<sup>t</sup> and, for his own as well as other men's conveniency, had drawn up the state of his notions and the strength of his arguments into two books, which he had left with a woman; a prime intimidado and zealous confident of his party. Ephraim hearing of it, goes to the woman, and pretending himself desirous of further confirmation in those principles, begs of her to lend him the books awhile; which might be of great advantage to enable him to refute the contrary errors. The woman assents, and he takes the books along with him; and having brought them home, glues all the leaves fast to one another; and so carries them back, without any visible

<sup>s</sup> Nyss. enc. S. Ephr. p. 1031.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. *ibid.* p. 1040.



sign of what had been done to them. Not long after, he put some of the catholic party upon the challenging Apollinaris to a dispute; the day is set, and Apollinaris appears, and desires of the company, that by reason of his great age he might not be pressed to dispute verbally, but might be suffered to argue or answer out of his book. So taking one of the books from his companion, he began to open it, but it would not stir; he tried in the middle, but it was as fast there as before. Then he took the other book, but found both alike, not one leaf parting from another; which did so amaze and confound the man, that like one forsaken of his reason, rose he up and ran out of the meeting; and was so unable to sustain the shame and ignominy, that it brought a disease upon him, that had like to have cost his life.

VII. But though religion and piety was his greatest glory, he wanted not the inferior ornaments of parts and learning. He had ravelled into the secrets of Gentile learning, and well understood what treasures they were masters of;<sup>u</sup> the chaff and rubbish he left behind, and retained only so much as he could make useful to religion and the service of the sanctuary. He had the advantage of a strange natural eloquence, wherewith he poured forth his conceptions with so much perspicuity, politeness, sententiousness, and plenty, that he easily captivated and charmed his auditors wherever he came. And his discourses had this peculiar excellency, that contrary to the fate of all other versions, being translated out of the Syriac (for he always spoke and wrote in his mother tongue) into Greek, they lost nothing of their native grace and elegancy; but what was admired in its own proper garb, was little less admirable when clothed in a foreign dress. St. Jerome confirms this observation by that one book of his,<sup>x</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, which he had read; where he tells us, even under a translation he met with the acumen of a sublime and excellent wit. None knew better how to accommodate himself to what he was about: in his homilies and popular discourses<sup>y</sup> he used an easy and unaffected style, but which yet made its way with such powerful persuasives, insinuated itself with so much sweetness, and came recommended with so pathological a vehemency, that nothing was able to stand before it. The tropes and schemes of speech so familiar to the

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. iii. c. 6. et Nyss. *ibid.* p. 1034.

<sup>x</sup> De script. c. 115.

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Phot. Cod. CXCVI.

Syrian language, being added to the height and solidity of his notions, set off his way of speaking with an uncommon force and beauty. He had no unhappy genius for poetry, though he traded that way more to please others than himself. Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes,<sup>z</sup> (who flourished under the reign of the emperor Antoninus,) was the first that had introduced poetical numbers and measures into the language of that country, and had therein composed many poems. Ephraim observed his countrymen infinitely delighted with such poetical composures, and that he might restrain them from reading those of Harmonius, who had every where interspersed his corrupt sentiments and opinions, he set himself to compose Syriac hymns and songs containing catholic doctrines and principles; especially encomiastics of the martyrs, and other excellent and holy men, in all to the number of three hundred thousand verses. Indeed, the books he wrote were almost innumerable, above a thousand discourses, as Photius reports from the people of that country; which, for their piety, gravity, orthodoxy, and elegance, were held in such estimation and authority, that in many places they were publicly read in the church next to the holy scriptures.<sup>a</sup> Many of them were in his lifetime translated into Greek, and the rest afterwards; and were greedily read by all with equal admiration and delight. And pity it is, that as yet we have nothing of him publicly extant, but at the third hand, the translation of translations; when almost with the same care and trouble the Greek might have seen the light. Perhaps posterity may be more happy.

His writings.<sup>b</sup>

Opera S. Ephraim 3 tomis, Latine edita.

Tomus I. Continet Homilias et Tractatus 89.

II. Libros et Tractatus 18.

III. Sermones et Orationes 27.

<sup>z</sup> Sozom. l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>a</sup> Hier. de script. c. 115.

<sup>b</sup> Singuli uniuscujusque tom. Tractatus à Labbæo sigillatim recensentur. De Scrip. vol. i. vid. S. Ephraim opera à Ger. Voss. edit. Rom. 1593. vel Antv. 1619.

# THE LIFE OF DAMASUS,

## BISHOP OF ROME.

His country. Contest about the particular place of his nativity. Presbyter of Rome under Liberius. His siding with Felix during Liberius's exile. Restored by Liberius. The competition between him and Ursicinus about the see of Rome. The mischiefs happening during these dissensions. The bloody and violent proceedings of Damasus against Ursicinus and his party, related by Marcellinus and Faustinus. What credibility in their reports. His synodical condemning the transactions of the council of Ariminum. St. Basil's resentment of his coldness and indifferency in the cause of the catholic churches of the East. Consulted by St. Jerome, with whom to communicate at Antioch. The Apollinarian heresy condemned in a synod at Rome. Vitalis, head of the party, abjures his errors there. A large confession of faith sent by Damasus to Paulinus. The second general council not holden by his authority. A canon of his asserting the supremacy of the church of Rome against the decree of Constantinople, pretended by Baronius. The *Τόμος Δυτικῶν* in the Constantinopolitan canon, what. The great age and death of pope Damasus. His public buildings. His intimate correspondence with St. Jerome. The *Liber Pontificalis* falsely ascribed to him. His skill in poetry. His writings.

DAMASUS was a Spaniard, the son of one Antonius, of a considerable family, and born not long after the beginning of this *æculum*. There is some contention among the Spanish writers about the place of his nativity. Some will have him born in Portugal,<sup>a</sup> at Egita, or Igædita, called at this day Juimaranes, a town situate between the rivers Minius and Durius, three leagues from Bracara Augusta: others, at Tarraco,<sup>b</sup> an ancient city, and of great note in Spain. But that which pleads most strongly for the honour of his birth is Madrid,<sup>c</sup> (supposed to be the Mantua Carpetanorum of the ancients,) the seat of the

<sup>a</sup> Vas. Chron. Hisp. Ann. 369. Hisp. Illustr. vol. i. p. 653. Vid. Marian. de reb. Hisp. l. iv. c. 19.

<sup>b</sup> P. Ant. Beuter. ap. Vas. ibid. Ann. 387.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Fl. Dextr. Chron. Ann. 366. et Comment. ibid. et L. Marin. Sic. de reb. Hisp. l. ii. vol. i. p. 309. ibid.



present kings of Spain; and we are told of an inscription upon marble in antique letters in one of the parish churches of that place, importing that Damasus was baptized in that church. Where or what his education was, doth not appear, no mention being made of him, till we find him among the deacons and presbyters of the Roman church under the government of pope Liberius, who seems to have had a peculiar kindness for him, and whom he succeeded in that see; though his first arrival at it was very tragical and tempestuous. There was at this time a woful schism in that church, which happened upon this occasion. Liberius being banished by the emperor Constantius for his constancy to the catholic interest, the clergy of that church obliged themselves by oath before all the people never to admit another bishop while Liberius lived; <sup>d</sup> and Damasus, we are told, purposed to accompany Liberius into exile, but having gone part of the journey, left him, and returned back to Rome; where, by the prevalency of the Arian faction, Felix, the archdeacon, was ordained bishop, one otherwise sound in the faith. With him the clergy, notwithstanding their former oath, complied, and Damasus among the rest; though the people were generally offended at it, and refused to go the wonted procession with the new-made pope. Three years after, viz. anno 358, Liberius, upon his subscribing the Arian cause, was released from banishment; upon whose return Felix was driven out of the city: and when a little after he came back, and held his assemblies in the Julian church beyond Tiber, the people rose up a second time, and thrust him out; Liberius in the mean time doing all he could to compose affairs, and to reconcile the clergy, who had taken part with Felix, whom he restored to their former places. Liberius survived his restitution eight years, dying September the 24th, anno 366.

II. Upon his decease appeared two competitors for the chair, Damasus and Ursicinus, or Ursinus, a deacon of that church, who, with some few more, had kept strictly to their engagement, and had all along refused to own Felix for their bishop. Damasus and his party appeared in *Lucinis*, say mine authors, though where that was I am yet to seek, where they demanded him for their bishop, and who was accordingly consecrated in the Lateran church: while Ursicinus and his followers made

<sup>d</sup> Marcell. et Faustin. præfat. ad libel. precum.

their procession in the church of Julius, and required him, who had never been defiled with the Arian communion, for bishop; and in the church of Sicinius, or rather ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ, (as Socrates tells us,<sup>e</sup>) in the vestry, or some obscure chapel belonging to that church, he was ordained by Paul bishop of Tibur. These contrary proceedings quickly filled the city with tumult and confusion; <sup>f</sup> factions grew high on both sides, from words they fell to blows, and thence to blood and slaughter, and nothing was seen but swords and instruments of fury; and the holy places filled with dead or mangled bodies. Viventius, the provost, endeavoured what in him lay to put a stop to the torrent; but finding the stream swelled too high, and that he was neither able to sweeten nor control the exasperated humour, he was forced to retire out of the city for his own security. But Damasus's party at length prevailed, the other being beaten out of sight, and that with so considerable a loss, that only in the church of Sisinius there were killed in one day no less than one hundred and thirty-seven persons; to the infinite scandal of religion, and the resentment of all sober and good men.

III. This is the account, bad enough at best, that is agreed on all hands: but Marcellinus and Faustinus, two presbyters, who lived at that time, in the preface of their petition to the emperor Theodosius, represent a much more tragical face of things, with a heavy charge upon the memory of pope Damasus. They tell us, that Damasus hearing of Ursicinus's ordination, hired a mighty crew of charioteers, sword-players, and the infamous rabble, and marched with them to the Julian church, which they broke open, and murdered all they met with for three days together; and having by bribes made Viventius the provost and Julian prefect of the granary of his side, procured Ursicinus, with Armantius and Lupus, his two deacons, to be banished, beating or killing those of the people that refused to come over to him. And understanding that the people had secured seven presbyters, and had placed them in Liberius's church, he came thither with his armed multitude; and October the 26th beset the church, broke open the doors, and put fire to the place where they were secured, that there might be no passage to escape; while others untiled the roof and threw down the tiles upon the people within, and then rushing in killed men

<sup>e</sup> Lib. iv. c. 29.

<sup>f</sup> Am. Marcell. l. xxvii. c. 3.

and women to the number of one hundred and sixty, wounding many more, of whom several died afterwards; while Damasus lost not one of his party: that the people earnestly petitioned God and the emperor, (while Damasus raised a fresh, and, as they call it, a fifth persecution against them,) that the cause might be heard in a convention of bishops, and things fairly tried: whose petitions being presented to Valentinian, he the year following released them that had been banished; so Ursicinus and his deacons returned October the 16th, and were joyfully welcomed by their people: that Damasus having made those at court his friends, kept the emperor from being acquainted with the true state of things, who accordingly commands that Ursicinus should create no farther trouble; and he now, finding that no good was to be done, for peace sake surrendered himself to the mercy of his enemies, and by order from the emperor, on the 17th of December, went again into banishment: after whose departure, his people, destitute of all their ministers, kept their stations in the cemeteries of the martyrs; and being assembled on a time in St. Agnes's church, were again set upon by Damasus, who slew many of them. After which he invited the neighbour bishops of Italy (as the custom was) to solemnize his birth-day, whom he endeavoured to persuade to join with him in the condemnation of Ursicinus, but received no other answer, than that they came to celebrate his nativity, not to condemn a person unheard, and before they knew what he had to say for himself.

IV. This is the sum of that account, which those two presbyters give of this matter. They were, it is true, of the Luciferian separation; that is, those that rejected all communion with any that had communicated with the Arians; which perhaps might make them write a little more tartly. But whether this be sufficient to destroy their evidence, and enervate the force of their testimony in matters of fact within their knowledge, is left to the reader to judge: if so, it will be some abatement to St. Jerome's testimony, (upon which Baronius lays so much stress, though he says nothing very material to the purpose,) his dear friendship and kindness to pope Damasus bringing him within the suspicion of partiality. To me it seems scarce credible, that persons of their character, in so solemn an address to the emperor, should usher it in with nothing but pure lies and



falsehoods; and those too gross and palpable, the things done being still fresh in memory, and Damasus himself yet alive. And, methinks, what pains soever Baronius takes to put a gloss upon the story, it looks a little odd, the account which their own pontifical book gives of this affair,<sup>g</sup> that Damasus was constituted bishop because he had the greater and the stronger party. But let the reader weigh the whole matter in an impartial balance, and then incline to which side he please. Certain it is, that whatever irregularities might happen in Damasus's election, or what ill things he or his party might be guilty of, he sufficiently recovered his credit, and for his prudence, piety, and zeal against Arianism purchased a great and just reverence throughout the whole Christian world.

V. Being at length settled and confirmed, he began to act in his public station. About the year 369 he convened a synod, whereat met ninety bishops out of Italy and some parts of France; who, considering how much the Arian artifices still prevailed, and how many were misled by false apprehensions and misrepresentations of things, condemned the transactions of the council of Ariminum, and particularly Auxentius, bishop of Milan, the great stickler for Arianism in those parts, confirmed and reenforced the Nicene faith: an account of all which pope Damasus and the rest gave in a synodical epistle to the bishops of Illyricum;<sup>h</sup> wherein they recommend the catholic doctrine, and what they had done in it to them, and to desire them by an answer to signify their consent and concurrence with them. Sad, in the mean time, was the case of the Catholics in the Eastern church, where, by the favour and passionate concernment of the emperor Valens, the Arians bore all the sway, and almost in every place carried all before them: of which St. Basil makes a lamentable representation in his epistles; who wrote likewise and sent legates to Damasus and the Western bishops, to implore their aid and help in this common cause. And to speed more effectually, he engaged the great Athanasius (whose authority was then enough to give reputation to any request) to write to Damasus in their behalf. But whatever answer Damasus returned, (for his letters are not now extant,) it is plain he was very cold and indifferent in this affair; as appears from the many complaints and sometimes tart reflections which Basil

<sup>g</sup> In vit. Damas. Concill. vol. iii. p. 263. ed. reg.

<sup>h</sup> Ext. ap. Theodor. l. ii. c. 22.

makes upon this occasion, as elsewhere we have related more at large.

VI. But the catholic interest in the East did not only suffer from the malice and cruelty of the Arians, but from their intestine quarrels and divisions among themselves: as appeared especially in the church of Antioch, where, besides Eudoxius the Arian bishop, and Vitalis the lay-ringleader of the Apollinarian party, there were Meletius and Paulinus, both catholic prelates in that church, some taking part with the one, and some with the other; and the church by this means rent asunder into a miserable schism. Damasus espoused the cause of Paulinus, who had been consecrated by Lucifer Calaritanus, a Western bishop: and when St. Jerome, then residing at Antioch, knew not well whom to join with, he sent to Rome to consult with pope Damasus, who advised him to hold communion with Paulinus: nay, after the death of Meletius, and that another was chosen in his room, he still persisted in abetting and patronising Paulinus, thereby giving no little life to the pernicious divisions of that church. About the year 373, (if Baronius compute it right,<sup>i</sup>) a synod was holden at Rome, whereat was present, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, successor to Athanasius, who, forced away by the barbarous cruelties of the Arians, had fled hither for shelter. The chief thing transacted in this synod, was the condemnation of the Apollinarian heresy, then newly sprung up in the world, asserting our Lord to have assumed human flesh without any rational mind or understanding, his Deity supplying the room of that: Apollinaris himself, together with his prime disciple Timotheus, being deposed and censured. Vitalis, the head of that sect at Antioch, (though a layman, as the Alexandrian Chronicon assures us,<sup>k</sup> and that his followers were called the sect of the Vitalians,) was at this time at Rome; where he solemnly retracted and abjured his errors before the council, subscribed the catholic faith, and was received to communion; and by him Damasus wrote to Paulinus, referring the man to him for a farther trial and discussion of his case. Of the proceedings of this synod in the cause of Apollinaris, Damasus afterwards wrote an account to the Eastern bishops,<sup>l</sup> who, it seems, had desired his concurrence in the deposition of Timotheus, which he certifies them he had synodically done some time

<sup>i</sup> Baron. eod. An.

<sup>k</sup> Ad Ann. Julian. l.

<sup>l</sup> Ext. Epist. ap. Theodor. l. v. c. 10.

before. At the same time, and by assistance of the same synod, he published a large confession of faith,<sup>m</sup> wherein he denounces particular anathemas against all the heretical *dogmata* of every sect which then infested the church, and spake defiance to the faith of Nice; and this he directed to Paulinus, (no doubt him of Antioch,) then lying at Thessalonica in Macedonia.

VII. The distracted state of the church, and the care and piety of the good emperor Theodosius, brought together the great synod at Constantinople, anno 381, which ever had the title and authority of a general council; though pope Damasus was neither himself nor by his legates present there. However, Baronius,<sup>n</sup> according to his custom, to secure the papal prerogative, would persuade us that Damasus afterwards confirmed this council; but withal is forced to strain so hard for a trifling pre-  
tence or two, to give colour to it, that any man may plainly see it is more than the cause will naturally bear. Though if he had confirmed it, this had implied no superiority, confirmation in this sense signifying no more than a consent and approbation, a thing usually done by all bishops, but especially those of the greater sees. In the third canon of this council, the fathers advanced the bishopric of Constantinople to the next degree of honour and privilege to the Roman see. This vexed them at Rome, and therefore the next year, to chastise the folly and presumption of the council, (as Baronius speaks,<sup>o</sup>) Damasus, in a synod at Rome, made a canon, extant in the Cresconian collection, wherein, having briefly prefaced something concerning the prerogative of St. Peter, he adjusts the precedence and privileges of the three great sees, giving the first place to that of St. Peter, or the Roman church, "that has neither spot nor wrinkle;" the second, to the see of Alexandria, founded by St. Mark in St. Peter's name, and by his authority; the third, to that of Antioch, immediately constituted by St. Peter himself. But the mischief is, whatever Cresconius pleasantly dreamt of, Damasus and his council passed no such canon, and therefore the last publishers of the councils wisely refer it to the Roman synod, held many years after under pope Gelasius, anno 464. But to proceed with the Constantinopolitan council: in the fifth canon, the synod agrees to receive all those at Antioch that confessed the Deity of all the three persons of the Trinity, according to

<sup>m</sup> Ext. *ibid.* c. 11.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Ann. 381.

<sup>o</sup> Ad Ann. 382.



the *τόμος τῶν Δυτικῶν*, “the tome or volume of the Western bishops.” What this tome was, is not agreed on; the Greek scholiasts, Zonaras, &c. widely and without any pretence of reason refer it to a definition of the Sardican council. Baronius will have it to be the confession of faith sent by Damasus to Paulinus bishop of Antioch,<sup>p</sup> which we mentioned before; Valesius, to be an exposition of the faith drawn up by Damasus in a synod at Rome,<sup>q</sup> anno 377, or the year after, sent to Antioch and confirmed in a convention of Eastern bishops there. But a learned man of our own not improbably conjectures,<sup>r</sup> that it is meant of the synodal epistle which Damasus and his council at Rome sent, anno 382, to the remainder of that of Constantinople; and that this fifth canon, as also the two following, were not made in the general synod, but in that part of it that reassembled the year following. Certain it is, from the answer of those Eastern bishops,<sup>s</sup> that a tome, or definition of faith, especially concerning the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, had been lately drawn up in a synod at Antioch, and another in the late oecumenical council at Constantinople; which being sent to Rome, probably produced that *Συνοδικὸν*, or conciliary letter, from Damasus and his synod about that matter, and which the fathers style the Western tome, or volume, in that canon. In the same letter, he desired the Eastern bishops to come to a general council at Rome, (about which it seems he had been dealing with the emperor,) especially to adjust and decide the case of the see of Antioch, still as much divided as ever, between Paulinus and Flavian, Meletius’s successor, whose election had been ratified by the Constantinopolitan synod the year before. To this epistle the fathers (many of whom met again at Constantinople the next year) returned an answer: as for the journey to Rome, they excused themselves; as for the faith, they agreed with him; and for other proceedings, they gave him an account of what they had done, both in the business of Antioch and in that of other sees.

VIII. It was not long that Damasus lived after this. He was full of days, near fourscore years of age, dying, as Baronius reckons, December the 11th, anno 384, after he had sitten bishop of Rome seventeen years and near three months. As for the miracles reported to have been done by him, they that

<sup>p</sup> Ad Ann. 381.

<sup>q</sup> Annot. ad Sozom. p. 143.

<sup>r</sup> Bevereg. Annot. ad Can. v. Conc. Const.

<sup>s</sup> Ap. Theodor. l. v. c. 9.

can believe the Acts of Damasus, may find them there. The works of magnificence attributed to him by the writers of the Roman church, are two churches, one near Pompey's theatre, the other in the Via Ardeatina, where he was buried in the *catacumbæ*, near the bodies of St. Peter and Paul, the floor whereof he had beautified with a pavement of variegated marble. He diligently sought out the graves of many martyrs, whose tombs he adorned with suitable epitaphs; ennobled the church of St. Laurentius, and enriched it with many exquisite and costly gifts, and hither his body was translated from the place of its first interment. In his lifetime he held an intimate correspondence with St. Jerome, whom he oft consulted about the sense of obscure and difficult places of scripture; St. Jerome's great skill in Hebrew enabling him to return very satisfactory resolutions. What his parts and learning were, we can make no certain guess, little of his being extant. His tracts *De Virginitate*, both in prose and verse, (mentioned by St. Jerome,<sup>†</sup>) are lost. The *Liber Pontificalis*, or short account of the bishops of Rome, so often ascribed to him, is notoriously known and granted to be the work of Anastasius the Roman library-keeper, who flourished several ages after, the style as well as the matter savouring of the rudeness and barbarism of those later times; though it must be something elder than Anastasius, if what Labbe says be true,<sup>‡</sup> that he saw a copy of it written in the time of Charles the Great, wherein those lives were ascribed to Damasus, and this before Anastasius was born, to be sure before capable of writing books, but withal he strongly concludes it was none of Damasus's work. St. Jerome,<sup>\*</sup> who knew him best, says he had an elegant wit, especially for poetry, (which perhaps he owed in some measure to the genius of his country, heretofore famous for some excellent poets,) and composed very many short poems, viz. epitaphs, inscriptions, &c., some whereof are extant at this day.

<sup>†</sup> Ep. xviii. ad Eustoch. de Custod. Virgin. vol. iv. par. ii. p. 37.

<sup>‡</sup> De script. vol. i. p. 252.

<sup>\*</sup> De script. c. 103.

#### His Works.

Epistola ad Episcopos Orientis, Gr. et Lat.	Epistola ad Paulinum Antiochenum de Vitali.
Epistola Synodalis ad Episcopos Illyrici, Gr. et Lat.	Epitaphia, inscriptiones, carmina Numero 40.
Confessio fidei Catholicæ ad Paulinum, Gr. et Lat.	Fragmenta quedam apud Gratianum.

*Not Extant.*

De Virginitate, et prosa et versu.

*Supposititious.*

Liber Pontificalis.

Ad Hieronimum Epistolæ duæ.

Epistola ad Stephanum et Episcopos Mauritaniae.

Epist. ad Prosperum et Episcopos Numidiæ.

Epist. ad Episcopos Italiæ.

Epist. ad Aurelium Carthaginensem.



# THE LIFE OF AMPHILOCHIUS,

## BISHOP OF ICONIUM

His originals obscure. His monastic life: companion therein to Basil and Nazianzen. Fabulous reports concerning the manner of his being consecrated bishop of Iconium. St. Basil's letter to him to congratulate his election to that see. Appointed one of the commissioners for admitting persons to communion by the council at Constantinople. His vigorous opposing the Arians and other heretics, especially the Massalians. The rise and principles of that sect. Its condemnation in a synod at Sida, wherein he presided. Present in a synod at Constantinople to determine a controversy about the see of Bostra. His great age. The time of his death uncertain. The high esteem St. Basil had of him, and the excellent character he gives him. Several spurious or doubtful pieces entitled to him. His writings.

THE originals of this holy man are altogether obscure, no writer having given any intimation either where he was born, or how descended. If I might guess, I should conjecture from one of St. Basil's letters to him, that he was born in Cappadocia; and am farther confirmed in it by St. Jerome,<sup>a</sup> who, speaking of that noble triumvirate, Basil, Gregory, and Amphilochius, styles them all Cappadocians. In his younger years he was brought up in all excellent and useful learning, and became an accomplished scholar; after which he gave up himself to the severities of a monastic life, and was companion to St. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen in their Pontic solitudes: and this, it seems, Basil and he had agreed upon long before;<sup>b</sup> but the infirmities of his aged father then kept Amphilochius at home, and that so close, that he could not spare so much time as to wait upon the bishop of Cæsarea, whose excellent company and conversation Basil earnestly recommended to him. Freed from domestic cares, he betook himself to the deserts, and the pleasures as well as the

<sup>a</sup> Epist. lxxxiii. ad Magn. vol. ii. par. ii. p. 656.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Basil. Epist. cl. s. 4. (ad Amphil.)

hardship of a contemplative life. The place, if I conjecture aright, where he resided, was called Ozizalis, a place destitute of grain, but abounding in fruits, herbs, and especially coleworts, a parcel whereof Nazianzen, in two witty epistles,<sup>c</sup> begged of him, when he was to treat St. Basil one night at supper. Simeon the Metaphrast, or whoever it was wrote that trifling account of him, reports,<sup>d</sup> that he lived forty years in a cell under ground, without any other sustenance than hard bread and water; and that the bishopric of Iconium, the metropolis of Lycaonia, being vacant, an angel appeared to him, and three nights together bade him go into the city; and at last, having prayed together, the angel took him by the right hand, and led him into the church, which was full of lights, and innumerable persons in shining garments, who conducted him up to the altar, and delivered the book of the gospel into his hand; and having told him that the divine grace made him bishop of that place, and having prayed for, and blessed him, immediately disappeared. After whose departure came several bishops into the church, with an intention to have proceeded to his consecration; but he told them, they might spare their pains, for the angels had already done that office for him: whereat, as we may suppose, they were greatly astonished, and having given him the peace, went their way. This is the sum of the idle story of his ordination, for I would not abuse the reader's patience to set it down at large. However, it may serve to give us a taste how fruitful the Greek as well as the Latin church is of legends and fabulous reports.

II. It is hard to fix the particular time of his promotion to the see of Iconium, more than what the Greek Menæon tells us,<sup>e</sup> that it was in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, and perhaps not long after St. Basil's advancement to the see of Cæsarea. He soon gave his dear friend St. Basil an account of what had passed, and how unwillingly he had suffered this burden to be laid upon him. Basil wrote back to him,<sup>f</sup> to congratulate his happy election to that place, and to persuade and press him to go on in a vigorous and successful discharge of it. The fame of the man increased every day, and his learning and zeal for the catholic faith advanced him to the first rank of worthies in all those parts; insomuch, that in the great synod at Constantinople,

<sup>c</sup> Epist. xii. xiii. p. 776.

<sup>d</sup> Gest. S. Amphil. Gr. et Lat. a Combef. edita.

<sup>e</sup> Τῇ καὶ τοῦ Νοεμβρίου, sub lit. μ.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. clxi.

anno 381, when persons were to be appointed as judges of catholic communion who were fit to be taken in, he and Optimus of the Pisidian Antioch had the whole Asian diocese committed to them. And when, about two years after, the emperor called another synod for composing the distractions of the church, he went boldly to the emperor, and desired the suppression of the Arian conventicles, then grown to a great height of insolence; and upon the neglect of his petition, convinced the emperor how great his offence was to God, by putting a notorious slight upon his son, the young prince Arcadius, before his face: an account of which passage we have related in another place. About the same time, he appeared briskly against the Massalian heretics. These were a sort of primitive enthusiasts,<sup>g</sup> who placed all religion in praying, neglecting not only the duties of common life, but all other parts of devotion, affirming that they were to do nothing else but pray; and when filled with enthusiastic heats and diabolical raptures, they were wont to cry out, it was the impulse and presence of the Holy Ghost: and as most heresies tend to, or end in sensuality, so they fell into the trade of promiscuous mixtures in their irreligious assemblies. These cattle abounded most in Syria, and being driven thence, spread into Pamphylia and the neighbour provinces: against whom a synod was called at Sida,<sup>h</sup> a city in Pamphylia, in the confines of Cilicia, where met six and twenty bishops. Amphilocheus was president of the council, who, as Theodoret informs us,<sup>i</sup> wrote a particular book against them. In the synod the case was considered, and the heresy condemned, and a synodical epistle, giving an account of what they had done, sent to Flavian, bishop of Antioch, who convened a synod of his bishops about the same matter; where Adelphius a laic, and head of the sect, offered to recant and abjure his errors, but was not admitted, the synod looking upon his repentance as feigned and hypocritical.

III. We meet with no more concerning Amphilocheus, till the year 394, when we find him in a synod at Constantinople,<sup>k</sup> with

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Epist. Hæres. lxxx. Theodor. Hæret. fab. l. iv. c. 11. August. de Hæres. c. 57. vol. viii. p. 19. Damasc. de Hæres. s. 80. vol. i. p. 95.

<sup>h</sup> Phot. Cod. LII.

<sup>i</sup> Hæret. fab. l. iv. c. 11.

<sup>k</sup> Ext. Act. Syn. l. iv. Jur. Gr. Rom. p. 247. et Conc. vol. i. p. 955. ed. Harduin.



Nectarius of that church, Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavian of Antioch, and many others, determining the controversy between Bagadius and Agapius, who contended about the bishopric of Bostra; Bagadius having been deposed only by two bishops, contrary to the canon, which required three at least: to prevent which, for the time to come, they decreed that such depositions should not be made but by the sentence of provincial synods. Soon after this synod we may suppose he died, being of a great age; the Greek Ritual assuring us,<sup>1</sup> that he lived till the time of Theodosius and his children: the 23rd of November is sacred to his memory. He was a man of singular worth, held in great veneration by all the persons of that age. He held an inward friendship with those two great men, Nazianzen and Basil, the latter of whom had so high a value for him, that (as he oft intimates in his epistles) he was never well but when he was either conversing with him, or writing to him. To him he had recourse upon all occasions; to him he communicated all his affairs and transactions; so that he tells him,<sup>m</sup> his daily letters to him might serve *οἶονεἰ ἐφημερίδα τοῦ βίου*, “for the calendar of his life.” To him he dedicated his book *De Spiritu Sancto*: and at his request wrote to him his three canonical epistles, containing eighty-five canons about ecclesiastical discipline, in answer to several cases which Amphilochius had put to him. He frequently commends his vast industry in the pursuit of knowledge,<sup>n</sup> his unwearied inquiries after truth, the clearness of his apprehensions, the firmness and solidity of his judgment, his admirable humility in so oft condescending to learn of others, who was so incomparably able to teach himself. Books he wrote many in vindication of the catholic faith, though the ancients have not so much as consigned the names of them to us. St. Jerome only mentions his book *De Spiritu Sancto*,<sup>o</sup> which, he says, Amphilochius himself read to him. Several tracts were some years since published under his name, but most of them spurious, at least uncertain, and we are the more at a loss in this matter, because we have none of his books unquestionably genuine left us as standards to judge of these.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. supra citat.

<sup>m</sup> Epist. ccxxxi.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. de Sp. S. c. i. Epist. clxxxviii. can. i. vol. iii. p. 268. Ep. cxcix. can. ii. p. 290.

<sup>o</sup> De spirit. c. 133.

His Writings.

*Doubtful.*

Oratio in Christi Natalem.

In Christi Circumcisionem, et de Basilio.

De occurso Domini.

In Lazarum Quatriduanum.

In mulierem peccatricem, etc.

In diem Sabbati Sancti.

De pœnitentia et quod non sit desperandum.

Iambica ad Seleucum.

*Genuine.*

Excerpta varia ex libris Amphiloicii, quæ  
apud veteres extant.

*Supposititious.*

Oratio in S. Deiparam, et Symeonem.

Vita S. Basilii.

# THE LIFE OF GREGORY,

## BISHOP OF NYSSA.

His country, parents, and kindred. Education, and love of rhetoric. Hardly drawn off to the study of theology. His preferment to the see of Nyssa. His zeal for the catholic interest. Banished by the Arian faction, and hardly used. Delegated by a synod at Antioch to visit the Eastern churches. His journey into Arabia; thence to Jerusalem. His entertainment there, and survey of that place. His return, and large letter against making pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The unanswerable reasons he offers in that matter. His visiting his sister Macrina, and assisting at her death. His book *De Anima et Resurrectione*, on what occasion penned. His going to the council at Constantinople. His books against Eunomius. His funeral sermons for the empress Placcilla and her daughter Pulcheria. When we meet with the last mention of him. His singular learning and eloquence. His writings enumerated.

GREGORY was born in Pontus, the son of Basil and Emmelia, persons renowned for their piety, charity, and all other Christian virtues, throughout all Pontus and Cappadocia. He was their third son, St. Basil being the eldest brother, (so heedlessly do they write that make our Gregory the eldest,<sup>a</sup>) though he had an equal care taken of his education. He was brought up in all the polite and fashionable modes of learning, but specially applied himself to that of rhetoric, wherein he became more than ordinarily eminent; and so great a power had it gained over him, that Nazianzen was forced to write to him,<sup>b</sup> to persuade him to lay that fond course aside, to get above that *ἄδοξον εὐδοξίαν*, (as he calls it,) that unworthy kind of glory with which he was vainly tickled, and to apply himself close to divine studies, and to the service of the church; severely chiding him for taking more pride to be accounted an orator than a Christian. Having broke loose from the study of oratory and eloquence, he betook himself to solitude and the monastic discipline, and had now leisure to put Nazianzen's counsel into practice, and accordingly applied himself strictly to the study of theology and the holy scriptures, and to

<sup>a</sup> Auct. præfat. præfix. ed. Lat. Oper. Nyss. et inde Cent. Mag. cent. iv. col. 532.  
Epist. xliii. p. 804.



inquire into the controversies of the age; in the knowledge whereof he became as eminent as he had been before in the course of more smooth and pleasant studies.

II. He was preferred to the see of Nyssa, a city situate in the borders of Cappadocia, and by some reckoned to the Lesser Armenia. Stephanus reckons up no less than ten cities of this name,<sup>c</sup> the eighth whereof he places upon mount Caucasus; but whether he means this of ours, is to me uncertain. The exact time of his promotion to this bishopric cannot be recovered: that he was bishop when Basil created Nazianzen bishop of Sasima, is plain from the oration with which that eloquent man the day after his consecration entertained him, when he came to visit him. But however it was, he proved in that station a stout champion of the Nicene faith; and so vigorously opposed the Arian party, that soon after he was banished by command of the emperor Valens:<sup>d</sup> the execution whereof was committed to the *vicarius* of those parts, who calling a synod of Galatian bishops of that side in the depth of winter, deposed and condemned him to banishment at the suggestion only of one mean and inconsiderable fellow; and afterwards removing to Nyssa, summoned thither a convention of the bishops of Pontus and Galatia, and there thrust in an unworthy successor in his room. By his brother's letter to Abyrtius in his behalf,<sup>e</sup> as well as by his own complaints, it appears that he met with very hard usage, was tossed and hurried up and down, heavily fined, and exposed to the rage and petulancy of the people; all which fell the heavier upon him, as being both unused to trouble, and naturally unapt to bear it. In this condition he remained for seven or eight years together, comforted by his friends, and especially by the letters of Gregory of Nazianzum;<sup>f</sup> all which time he went about doing good, countermining the stratagems of the enemy, and strengthening others in the faith. In the council held at Antioch about nine months after the death of Basil, which happened anno 378, he was among others delegated to visit the Eastern churches, miserably harassed by the late Arian persecution, and upon that errand not long after went into Arabia,<sup>g</sup> the expenses of his journey being furnished out at the public charge, by the

<sup>c</sup> De Urb. in p. Νύσαι.      <sup>d</sup> Basil. Epist. ccxxxvii. Nyss. vit. Macrin. p. 188. 192.

<sup>e</sup> Basil. Epist. xxxiii.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Naz. Epist. xxxiv. xxxv.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Nyss. Epist. de euntib. Hieros. vol. ii. p. 1086.

immediate allowance of the most religious emperor, (as himself tells us,) that is, I suppose, the emperor Theodosius, who about that time had been assumed into a partnership in the empire; and whom we find soon after publishing a law, bearing date, Feb. 27, anno 380,<sup>h</sup> to require of bishops to take heed that they betrayed not the faith, either through ignorance or carelessness; several such unskilful or unfaithful guides having, it is like, to serve bad ends, been promoted in the time of his predecessor. Having despatched the affairs of the Arabian churches, he resolved for Jerusalem, having engaged to confer with the bishops of those parts, and to assist in their reformation. Coming thither, he was most kindly entertained by three pious ladies, Eustathia, Ambrosia, and Basilissa, persons of considerable note and account there. He was not a little delighted to contemplate those venerable places,<sup>i</sup> where the Son of God had conversed upon earth; but much more to behold those pious souls, that were the spiritual monuments of his birth, life, death, and resurrection. But these, alas! were thin sowed there; the place he found for the most part overrun with vice, schism, and faction, some that shunned his communion, and set up altars in opposition to him. This soon gave him enough of that place, and with an heavy heart he returned to the metropolis, (I suppose he means Antioch, the metropolis of the East, where he met with Olympius the monk,<sup>k</sup> then going to visit the holy places at Jerusalem;) whence he wrote back to the three ladies at Jerusalem, to let them know his sense of things, and to caution them not to be seduced by those that sought to make a prey of them. Upon occasion of this journey he was afterwards consulted by a friend,<sup>l</sup> whether (what it seems was the opinion of some monastic disciplinarians of that time) it was any essential part of religion to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem. In answer whereunto, he freely declares himself in the negative; that our Lord had not by any precept bound this duty upon us, nor made it any of the necessary qualifications to eternal salvation; that such journeys could not be accomplished without manifest inconveniences both to the body and the soul; that the grace of God and his favour were not confined to Golgotha or mount Olivet, or our Lord now

<sup>h</sup> Ext. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. Tit. ii. l. 25.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Epist. ad Eustath. etc. p. 1088. et p. 1093.

<sup>k</sup> De vit. Macrin. init.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Epist. de euntib. Hieros. in init.

corporally present in those places; that they had more reason to expect his Spirit in Cappadoçia, where God was more frequently and sincerely worshipped than at Jerusalem, where all sorts of vices and immoralities did so much abound; that if he himself had been there, it was not so much to gratify himself, as to comply with the necessities of the church, he being sufficiently satisfied in the truth of our Lord's life and death before ever he saw Bethlehem or Calvary: and this was the only advantage he had reaped, to find that piety flourished much more at home; that it is not the change of places makes us nearer to heaven, but wherever we are, God will come to us, if the soul be but a fit habitation for God to dwell in; but if it be defiled with lust and sin, though thou shouldest dwell at Golgotha, or upon the mount of Olives, thou wouldest be as far from his presence and company as if thou hadst never once heard of him. A discourse that so mortally wounds the doctrine and practice of the church of Rome in point of pilgrimages, that after all their vain attempts to evade the blow, they are forced to run away, and give up the cause. But my business now is not to insist upon that. Being returned home, he went to visit his dear sister Macrina, whom by reason of his troubles he had not seen of many years. His visit was most opportune, for he found her in a dying condition; he prayed with her, blessed her, and assisted her in her last hours, and saw her decently brought to her grave: all which he relates at large in the account he has given of her life. And upon this occasion he penned his excellent book *De Anima et Resurrectione*, (wherein if some later hand have interspersed some few Origenian *dogmata*, it is no more than what they have done to some few other of his tracts,) to give his thoughts vent upon those noble arguments.

III. It was not long after his Arabian progress, when he was summoned to the great council at Constantinople, whither he brought along with him the twelve (or, as others divide them, thirteen) books, which, in vindication of his brother Basil, he had written against Eunomius, who had pretended to answer what Basil had written against his sect and principles, but durst never publish his book while that great man lived. After his death, he suffered them to creep abroad; against which Nyssen took up the controversy, and at once defended the truth and the memory of his brother. These books he read to Nazianzen,



and Jerome,<sup>m</sup> who at that time resided at Constantinople under that good man's tutorage. He made no inconsiderable figure in the synod, his advice being chiefly relied upon in the most important cases; and, therefore, when it was thought necessary to make an explanatory confession of faith, especially in the article of the Holy Ghost, the drawing it up was committed to his care,<sup>n</sup> and this is the Constantinopolitan, or, as among us it is called, the Nicene creed. And when Meletius, the aged bishop of Antioch, died, during the sitting of the council, he entertained that grave assembly with an oration at his funeral;<sup>o</sup> and was appointed one of the two commissioners for admitting persons to catholic communion within the whole Pontic diocese. Some few years after, he preached the funeral oration of the empress Placcilla,<sup>p</sup> as he had done a little before for her daughter, the princess Pulcheria, a little infant that died not long before her.<sup>q</sup> And here we must take leave of the historical part of his life, nothing memorable appearing afterwards.

IV. He was a married man, and lived with his wife Theosebia even after he was bishop;<sup>r</sup> upon whose death Nazianzen wrote him a consolatory letter,<sup>s</sup> wherein he gives her more than ordinary commendations. He lived to a great age, and was alive when St. Jerome wrote his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, anno 392; and two years after that was present in the synod at Constantinople, at the adjusting the controversy between Agapius and Bagadius, as appears by the Acts of that council. No notices are to be met with concerning his death, more than that the memory of it is celebrated in the Western martyrologies, March the 9th, in the Greek on January the 10th. A man equally venerable for the clearness and elegancy of his style, the quickness of his parts, and the piety of his life. Photius has passed this censure upon his books in defence of Basil against Eunomius;<sup>t</sup> that his phrase, above that of any other rhetorician, is perspicuous, elegant, and very pleasant; and that however he did not equal Theodorus of Antioch (who had laboured in the same work and upon the same occasion) in the length of his discourses, yet he far outwent him in the beauty and sweetness of his eloquence,

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. de Script. c. 133.

<sup>n</sup> Niceph. l. xii. c. 13.

<sup>o</sup> Socrat. l. iv. c. 26. Id. l. v. c. 8.

<sup>p</sup> Ext. Opp. vol. ii. p. 956.

<sup>q</sup> Ext. ib. p. 946.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. lib. ejus de Virgin. c. 3. Niceph. l. xi. c. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Epist. xcvi. p. 846.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. VI. VII.

and in the plenty and copiousness of his arguments, beating down his adversary by main force, and overturning the very foundations of his impious principles. The Hexaameron, or discourse upon the history of the creation, which Basil left imperfect, he filled up with an accuracy that became the brother of the great St. Basil. Many other excellent works he left behind him, the lasting monuments of his learning and eloquence, the greatest part whereof are extant at this day.

## His Works.

*Genuine.*

Hexaameron, seu de opere sex dierum.  
De hominis opificio, Liber.  
De vita Mosis, seu de vita perfecta.  
In Psalmorum inscriptiones Tractatus duo.  
In Psalmum sextum de Octava.  
In Ecclesiastem Conciones octo.  
In Cantica Canticorum, explanatio.  
De Oratione Dominica, Homiliæ quinque.  
De vita beata comparanda, Orationes octo.  
In illud Apostoli, 1 Cor. xv. "Quando sibi subjecerit," etc.  
De imagine Dei in homine, libellus.  
Epistola de Ventriloqua seu Pythonissa.  
Oratio in suam ordinationem.  
Contra Apollinarem.  
Contra Fatum.  
Tractatus de communibus notionibus adv.  
Græcos.  
De Anima.  
Epistola Canonica ad S. Letoium.  
In eos qui differunt baptisma.  
De fugienda fornicatione in 1 Cor. vi. 18.  
In mulierem peccatricem, et eos qui durius alios judicant.  
De pauperibus amandis.  
In Pentecostem, Oratio, Lat.  
Contra Eunomium, Libri 13.  
Tres Deos dici non oportere.  
De fide ad Simplicium Tribunal.  
Catechetica Magna, Oratio.  
De Virginitate vera et incorrupta.  
Contra Manichæos Syllogismi decem.  
De Anima et Resurrectione, Dialogus.  
Adv. Apollinarem, ad Theophilum.  
Quid nomen professioe Christiani sibi velit.  
De perfectione Christiani, ad Olympium.

De proposito secundum Deum.  
In eos qui ægre ferunt reprehensiones.  
De infantibus, qui præmature abripiuntur.  
In diem natalem Christi.  
De S. Stephano protomartyre, Oratio.  
De sancto Christi baptismate.  
De sancto Paschæ festo, et resurrectione Domini, Orationes quinque.  
De Ascensione Domini.  
De occurso Domini, et Simeone.  
De Deitate Filii, et Spiritus S. et de Abraham.  
In laudem Basilii M. fratris, Oratio.  
In laudem SS. 40. Martyrum, Orationes tres.  
In funere Pulcheriæ, Oratio consolatoria.  
De Placilla Augusta, Oratio funebris.  
Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi.  
De laudibus S. viri ac Martyris Theodori.  
De magno Meletio, Oratio funebris.  
Encomium S. Patris Ephraim Syri.  
Non esse dolendum ob eorum obitum qui in fide, etc.  
Epistola ad Flavianum.  
Oratio de iis qui adeunt Hierosolymam.  
Epistola ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, et Basilissam.  
Vita S. Macrinæ, sororis.  
In principium jejuniorum, Oratio.

*Supposititious.*

In hominis creationem, Orationes duæ.  
De Trinitate adversus Judæos ex V. T. Testimonia, Lat.  
De differentia substantiæ et hypostaseos ad Petrum fratrem.  
De Philosophia, Libri octo, [sunt Nemesii.]

A

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

RELATING TO

### THE AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH

IN THE

### FOURTH CENTURY.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
300	Diocl. à Sept. 17. 16 17	Constantius Chlorus Cæ- sar III. Galerius Armentarius Cæ- sar III.	Peter made bishop of Alexandria upon the death of Theonas.
301	17 18	Posthumius Titianus II. Fl. Popilius Nepotianus.	Diocletian triumphs at Rome for his victory over the Persians. The Christians at Rome severely treated.
302	18 19	Constantius Chlorus Cæ- sar IV. Galerius Cæsar IV.	Diocletian returns to Nicomedia, and consults with Galerius about persecuting the Christians.
303	19 20	Diocletianus Imp. VIII. Maximianus Herculius Aug. VII.	The Diocletian persecution set on foot at Nicomedia, February 23rd, and soon after in all other places.
304	20 Constant. et Galer. 21	Diocletianus IX. Maximianus Herculius VIII.	The persecution carried on with great severity in the East.
305	1 2	Constantius Imp. V. Galerius Maximianus Ar- ment. Aug. V.	Diocletian and Herculius Maximian lay down the empire. Galerius succeeds in the East, and con- tinues the persecution.
306	2 3 * Constant. M. Im. à Jul. 25. 1	Constantius Imp. VI. Imp. Galerius VI.	Constantine the Great succeeds his father Constantius in the empire ; and Maxentius sets up for himself at Rome.

\* Though there be that place the death of Constantius, and Constantine's suc-  
cession, anno 305, yet we have chosen to follow the general computation, as built  
upon firmer and more certain grounds.



<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
307	Constant. M. 1 2	Constantinus M. Aug. Maximianus Herculus IX.	Licinius created Cæsar by Galerius the emperor.
308	2 3	Maximianus Herculus X. Galerius Maximianus VII.	A convention of two hundred and seventy schismatical bishops and <i>traditores</i> in Africa. Vid. Aug. Epist. xlviii. ad Vincent.
309	3 4	Coss. incerti. <i>aliis</i> Maxentius II. Romulus II.	The martyrdom of Pamphilus, Eu- sebius's dear friend. A whole city in Phrygia suffers martyrdom.
310	4 5	Coss. incerti. <i>aliis</i> Maxentius III. solus.	About the end of this, or the begin- ning of the following year, the persecution ceased in Palestine and the Eastern parts.
311	5 6	Galerius Maximianus VIII. Licinius Augustus. <i>aliis</i> Rufinus et Eusebius.	Peter, bishop of Alexandria, suf- fers martyrdom, November 24th, or, as others, 26th. Lucian suffers at Nicomedia.
312	6 7	Imp. Constantinus II. Imp. Licinius II.	Constantine beholds the vision of the cross, and overcomes Max- entius. Towards the end of the year the persecution ceases.
313	7 8	Imp. Constantinus III. Licinius Aug. III.	Several laws published by Constan- tine in favour of the church, clergy, and Christians. Maximinus's last edict in their be- half.
314	8 9	Ceionius R. Volusianus. Annianus.	A synod holden at Arles about the cause of Cæcilian and Donatus. The councils of Ancyra and Neo- cæsarea holden this, or, as others think, the year following.
315	9 10	Constantinus M. IV. Licinius Aug. IV.	Several privileges and immunities conferred by Constantine upon the church. About this time Arius began more openly to broach his heresy.
316	10 11	Ruf. Ceionius Sabinus. Rufinus Proculus.	Licinius renews the persecution against the Christians. Diocletian dies at Salona, Decem- ber 3rd.
317	11 12	Ovinus Gallicanus. Septimius Bassus.	Crispus and Constantine junior created Cæsars. Peace made between Constantine and Licinius.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
318	Constant. M. 12 13	Imp. Licinius V. Crispus Cæsar.	Arius quits Alexandria, and flies into Palestine where he courts the bishops to espouse his cause.
319	13 14	Constantinus M. V. Licinius jun. Cæsar.	Private auguries and divinations forbidden. The Christian clergy exempted from public offices.
320	14 15	Constantinus M. VI. Constantinus jun. Cæsar.	Great reformation of manners made at Rome, as appears by several laws in the Theodosian code.
321	15 16	Crispus Cæsar II. Constantinus jun. II.	A law published for the observation of the Lord's day. Several others in favour of the church, and against pagan superstitions.
322	16 17	Petronius Probianus. Anicius Julianus.	A famine raging in Africa ; a rescript is sent to relieve the poor out of the public exchequer.
323	17 18	Acilius Severus. Junius Rufinus.	Licinius finally routed by Constantine, whose laws and edicts he abrogated, part this year and part the next.
324	18 19	Crispus Cæsar III. Constantinus jun. III.	Hosius bishop of Corduba despatched by Constantine with letters to Alexandria, to compose the controversy between Alexander and Arius ; but in vain.
325	19 20	Paulinus. Julianus.	The first general council assembled at Nice, wherein Arius and his principles are confuted and condemned.
326	20 21	Constantinus M. VII. Constantius Cæsar.	* Athanasius chosen to the see of Alexandria. Command given by Constantine for the erecting a stately church at Jerusalem.
327	21 22	Fl. Valerius Constantinus. Maximus.	The death of the pious Helena, mother to the emperor Constantine. Christianity propagated in the barbarous countries.
328	22 23	Januarius. Justus.	Eusebius and Theognis return from banishment (as Arius had done not long before) upon a pretended compliance with the Nicene faith.

\* Athanasius, at the time of his advancement to that see, was probably in the twenty-eighth year current of his age. See his Life, sect. iv. n. 1.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
329	Constant. M. 23 24	Constantinus M. VIII. Constantinus Cæsar IV.	The Arians and Meletians jointly accuse Athanasius to the emperor, who discovers their malice.
330	24 25	Gallicanus. Symmachus.	Constantinople, begun two years since, finished, and solemnly dedi- cated, May the 11th.
331	25 26	Annius Bassus. Ablavius Ægyptius.	Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, dies about this time, Maximus succeeds.
332	26 27	Pacatianus. Hilarianus.	Athanasius commanded to clear himself of the death of Arsenius, inquires out the man.
333	27 28	Dalmatius. Xenophilus.	Heathen superstitions abolished, their temples demolished, or shut up, and the rents and revenues belonging to them taken away.
334	28 29	Optatus. Paulinus.	A law to free widows, orphans, the poor, and infirm, from being compelled to follow the court in suits at law. A synod at Cæsarea, whereat Atha- nasius refuses to appear.
335	29 30	Constantius. Albinus.	A synod holden by the Arians at Tyre, in August and September, where they try, condemn, and de- pose Athanasius. The great church at Jerusalem de- dicated.
336	30 31	Nepotianus. Facundus.	The Arians at Constantinople charge Athanasius afresh; he is banished by the emperor to Triers. The death of Arius.
337	31 Constant. cum fra- tribus, à Maii 22. 1	Felicianus. Titianus.	Constantine the Great dies, May the 22nd. *Athanasius released from banish- ment by the younger Constantine.
338	1 2	Ursus. Polemius.	Nisibis miraculously defended a- gainst the siege of the king of Persia by the prayers of James, bishop of that place.
339	2 3	Constantius Aug. II. Constans Aug.	The Arians, by letters, accuse Atha- nasius to the three brother-em- perors.
340	3 Occisus Const. jun. 4	Acyndinus. Proculus.	The younger Constantine slain at Aquilaia, about the beginning of April.

\* This was done, as appears from that emperor's letter, June the 17th of that year.



<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
341	Constant. cum fratre. 4 5	Marcellinus. Probinus.	The synod at Antioch (called <i>Synodus in Encaniis</i> ) deposes Athanasius, and ordains Gregory the Cappadocian in his room. Athanasius flies to Rome.
342	5 6	Constantius Aug. III. Constans Aug. II.	Athanasius acquitted in a synod at Rome. A tumult at Constantinople, about Paulus their bishop.
343	6 7	Placidus. Romulus.	The death of Paul, the aged hermit. Some immunities granted by Constantius to the clergy.
344	7 8	Leontius. Sallustius.	The persecution against the Christians in Persia, begun the foregoing year, carried on with great severity.
345	8 9	Amantius. Albinus.	A second synod holden at Antioch, wherein the large confession of faith is drawn up, and sent into the West.
346	9 10	Post. C. Amantii et Alb. <i>aliis</i> Constantius IV. Constans III.	A synod assembled at Milan, which rejects the message and confession of the Eastern bishops.
347	10 11	Rufinus. Eusebius.	The synod at Sardica, where the Eastern bishops refuse to join with them of the West, notwithstanding which, Athanasius is heard, absolved, and restored.
348	11 12	Philippus. Salias.	This year dies Gregory, bishop of Alexandria, ten months after the Sardican council.
349	12 13	Ulpius Limenius. Aco Catullinus.	In a synod at Sirmium, Photinus is deposed, but retained by the people. Athanasius being recalled, in his return waits upon Constantius at Antioch.
350	13 Constans occisus in Gallia 14	Sergius. Nigrinianus.	The good emperor Constans treacherously slain by Magnentius. Athanasius is received with joy at Alexandria.
351	14 15	Post C. Serg. et Nigr. <i>aliis</i> . Magnentius Imp. Gaiso.	A cross appears in the heavens over Jerusalem, at Whitsuntide. A synod holden at Sirmium against Photinus.
352	15 16	Constantius Aug. V. Constantius Gallus Cæsar.	Constantius's severe proceedings against the Jews in Palestine for their rebellion. The death of pope Julius, April 12th. Liberius succeeds, May 8th.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
353	Constant. 16 17	Constantius Aug. VI. Constant. Gallus II.	Athanasius condemned by the Arians in a synod at Arles: the pope's own legates drawn into the confederacy. Paulinus of Triers banished for his refusal.
354	17 18	Constantius Aug. VII. Const. Gallus III.	Gallus put to death. Julian comes to Athens, and there converses with Basil and Nazianzen.
355	18 19	Arbetio. Mavortius Lollianus.	* A council assembled by Constantius at Milan, wherein Athanasius is deposed, and several catholic bishops banished for not subscribing to it.
356	19 20	Constantius Aug. VIII. Julianus Cæsar.	George the Cappadocian, in a convention at Antioch, is made bishop of Alexandria: the cruel proceedings there at his arrival. Athanasius's flight thence.
357	20 21	Constantius Aug. IX. Julianus Cæsar II.	An Arian synod holden at Sirmium, which draws up a confession of faith. Hosius compelled to subscribe it.
358	21 22	T. Fab. Datianus. Neratius Cerealis.	A new confession composed in another synod at Sirmium, which pope Liberius subscribing, is released from banishment, and restored to his see.
359	22 23	Eusebius. Hypatius.	† Another confession drawn up at Sirmium May 22, with the date of the consuls affixed to it. A council at Ariminum by the Western bishops, another at the same time at Seleucia for the East.
360	23 24	Constantius Aug. X. Julianus Cæsar III.	A synodal convention of Arians at Constantinople, January the 27th, wherein the several parties fall out. The Ariminum confession ratified.
361	24 25 Julianus à Nov. 3. 1	Taurus. Florentius.	Constantius dies at Mopsucrenæ in Cilicia, October the 5th, as some will, but as most others, Novemb. the 3rd. Julian begins openly to declare for paganism.

\* At, or about the time of this synod, pope Liberius was banished by the emperor into Thrace.

† Though Valesius and some others make but four synods holden at Sirmium under Constantius, viz. anno 349, 351, 357, 358, (vid. Vales. Annot. in Sozom. p. 125.) yet very evident it is, that there was one more there this year, as is plain from the confession there drawn up, with the date of the consuls affixed to it.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
362	Juliani. 1 2	Mamertinus. Nevita.	Several methods set on foot by Julian to extirpate Christianity. He winters at Antioch. Athanasius forced to fly from Alexandria.
363	2 Jovianus à 27 Junii. 1	Julianus Aug. IV. Sec. Salustius Promotus.	Julian slain in the battle with the Persians. Jovian succeeds, and favours Athanasius and the catholic side.
364	1 Valen- tinian. (cum Val.) à Feb. 25. 1	Jovianus Aug. Varronianus ejus F.	Valens, the Eastern emperor, begins to take part with the Arians against the Catholics.
365	2	Valentianus. } Augg. Valens.	A synod holden at Lapsacus by the Macedonian and Semiarian party, who confirm the old Antioch confession of faith.
366	3	Gratianus Nobiliss. Diglaiphus.	Valens shuts up the churches belonging to the Novatians, and forces the Semiarians to subscribe the Arian confession.
367	4	Lupicinus. Jovinus.	Eustathius, Sylvanus, and Theophilus, appointed legates by the synod at Lampsacus, about this time take their journey, and impose upon pope Damasus and the Western bishops.
368	5	Valentinianus Aug. II. Valens Aug. II.	The Macedonian legates returning, are received and restored by a synod at Tyana. Basil returns from his solitudes, and is active at Cæsarea.
369	6	Valentinianus Nobiliss. Sex. Aurelius Victor.	St. Hilary goes to Milan to confute Auxentius the Arian bishop, returns home, and dies.
370	7	Valentinianus Aug. III. Valens Aug. III.	The Catholics severely persecuted by Valens. Basil made bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.
371	8	Gratianus Aug. II. Sex. Anicius Probus.	St. Jerome arrives in the East, and places himself in the deserts of Syria. Nazianzen about this time made bishop of Sasima.
372	9	Modestus. Arintheus.	The death of St. Athanasius. He is succeeded by Peter. Lucius made bishop by the Arians. A grievous persecution thereupon at Alexandria.



<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
373	Valentin. cum Val. 10	Valentinianus Aug. IV. Valens Aug. IV.	The Apollinarian heresy condemned by Damasus in a synod at Rome. St. Austin falls into Manichæism.
374	11	Gratianus Aug. III. Fl. Equitius.	St. Chrysostom retires into the monasteries near Antioch. St. Ambrose made bishop of Milan, December the 7th.
375	12 Obit Valen- tinianus Aug.	Post c. Gratiani III. et Equitii.	St. Ambrose studies theology under Simplician. The death of Photinus the he- resiarch.
376	13	Valens Aug. V. Valentinianus jun. Aug.	The Gentiles greatly restrained at Rome. Gratian forbids the conventicles of heretics, and makes the places forfeitable to the exchequer.
377	14	Gratianus Aug. IV. Fl. Merobaudes.	Valens afflicted by the invasion of the Goths, recalls the Catholics from banishment. Symmachus at Rome appears in favour of the Gentile rites.
378	15 Valens occisus.	Valens Aug. VI. Valentinianus jun. Aug. II.	St. Basil dies; and not long after him, Ephraim deacon of Edessa. A synod at Antioch for composing the distractions of the Eastern church.
379	Theodosius à Jan. 16. 1	Ausonius <i>Poeta</i> . Hermogen. Olybrius.	Gregory Nazianzen comes to Con- stantinople, and settles there. Je- rome comes thither, and studies under him.
380	2	Gratianus Aug. V. Imp. Theodosius.	Theodosius baptized at Thessalonica. He strenuously promotes and pa- tronizes the catholic faith. Chrysostom made deacon at An- tioch.
381	3	Syagrius. Eucherius.	The second general council holden at Constantinople, begun in May, and dissolved in July. Nazianzen resigns the see of Con- stantinople, and retires.
382	4	Antonius. Afranius Syagrius.	A synod assembled at Rome about the see of Antioch, at which were present Paulinus and Epipha- nius. Some part of the general council re- assembled at Constantinople.
383	5	Merobaudes II. Saturninus.	St. Austin teaches rhetoric at Rome. Another synod holden at Constan- tinople against heretics.

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
384	Theodosii. 6	Ricimer. Clearchus.	St. Austin sent to be professor at Milan. Symmachus presents his address in behalf of the altar of Victory, but is opposed by St. Ambrose.
385	7	Arcadius Aug. Bauto.	Siricius made bishop of Rome, January 12th. St. Austin converted at Milan. St. Chrysostom made priest at Antioch.
386	8	Honorius Nobiliss. Fl. Euodius.	The death of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem. St. Jerome travels to Alexandria, and hears Didymus.
387	9	Imp. Valentinianus III. Eutropius.	St. Ambrose sent upon an embassy to Maximus. The tumult at Antioch against the imperial statues, which others refer to the next year.
388	10	Imp. Theodosius II. Cynegius.	The death of Cynegius, the prefect, the great suppressor of paganism in the East. St. Austin is baptized at Milan by St. Ambrose.
389	11	Timasius. Promotus.	Jovinian condemned by pope Siricius, and the next year by a synod at Milan. The death of St. Gregory Nazianzen.
390	12	Imp. Valentinianus IV. Neoterius.	The sedition at Thessalonica against the emperor's officer. The miserable slaughter of citizens there by the emperor's command.
391	13	L. Aur. Avianus Symmachus. T. Fabius Titianus.	Laws made against pagan sacrifices. St. Austin ordained presbyter at Hippo.
392	14	Arcadius Aug. II. Fl. Rufinus.	St. Jerome finished his catalogue of ecclesiastic writers. Epiphanius writes to John of Jerusalem about the quarrel between them: and soon after Jerome writes to Pammachius <i>adv. errores Joan. Hierosolym.</i>
393	15	Theodosius Aug. III. Abundantius.	A synod at Hippo for the reformation of discipline in the African churches. St. Jerome's epistle <i>ad Nepotianum.</i>

<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
394	Theodosii. 16	Arcadius Aug. III. Honorius Aug. II.	A convention of 310 Donatist bishops at Bagaia in Numidia, to allay the schism risen amongst them. A synod at Constantinople about the bishopric of Bostra.
395	Arcadius in Oriente. Honorius in Occidente, à Januar. 17. 1	Sex. Anicius Olybrius. Sex. Anicius Probinus.	St. Austin ordained bishop, and made coadjutor with Valerius at Hippo. Severe laws made against heathens and heretics.
396	2	Arcadius Aug. IV. Honorius Aug. III.	St. Ambrose, by letter, instructs Frigil, queen of the Marcomanni, in the Christian faith. St. Jerome writes his <i>Epitaphium Nepotiani</i> to Heliodorus.
397	3	Fl. Cæsarius. Nonius Atticus.	The third council at Carthage. St. Ambrose dies April the 4th, it being then the passion-week. The death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople.
398	4	Imp. Honorius IV. Eutychianus.	Chrysostom consecrated bishop of Constantinople, February 26th. The fourth council of Carthage.
399	5	Manilius Theodorus. Eutropius.	Chrysostom reforms his clergy, opposes Gainas, synodically examines the cause of Antonine bishop of Ephesus, and goes into Asia about mid-winter.
400	6	Fl. Stilicho. Aurelianus.	In a synod of seventy bishops at Ephesus, Chrysostom places Heraclides in that see, and deposes six Asian bishops. The Origenist monks come to Constantinople.
401	7	Ragonius Vincentius Celsus. Fl. Fravita.	The monks reinforce their complaints against Theophilus of Alexandria. Two councils at Carthage, one provincial, May 27th, the other general, September 13th.
402	8	Arcadius } Honorius } Augg. V.	Epiphanius comes to Constantinople to prosecute the Origenist monks, refuses communion with Chrysostom, returns back, and dies in the passage.
403	9	Theodosius, jun. Aug. Rumoridus.	Theophilus summoned to Constantinople. He condemns and deposes Chrysostom in the synod at the Oak; who is banished, but soon after recalled, and acquitted in another synod.



<i>Ann. Chr.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>
404	Arcadii et Honorii. 10	Imp. Honorius VI. Aristinetus.	Chrysostom again condemned, and by order from the emperor ban- ished to Cucusus in Armenia, whither he arrived after seventy days journey. Arsacius made bishop of Constan- tinople, June 28th.
405	11	Fl. Stilicho II. Anthemius.	Chrysostom, after a year's stay at Cucusus, is removed to Arabissus. Arsacius dies November 11th, after he had sat somewhat more than one year and four months.
406	12	Imp. Arcadius VI. Sex. Anicius Petronius Probus.	After four months vacancy, Atticus, a monk, is promoted to the see of Constantinople.
407	13	Imp. Honorius VII. Theodosius jun. Aug. II.	Chrysostom ordered to be removed to Pityus, a town in Pontus, but dies by the way at Comana Pon- tica, September 14th, and is buried there in the tomb of St. Basiliscus the Martyr.
We have carried this Chronological Table seven years into the following <i>sæculum</i> , to comply with the story of St. Chrysostom, whose death happened not till anno 407.			









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